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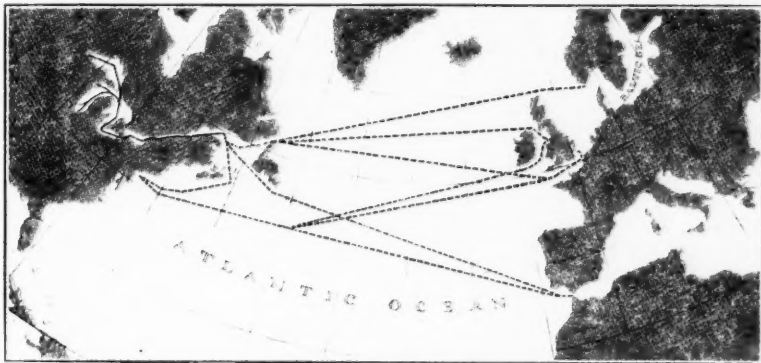
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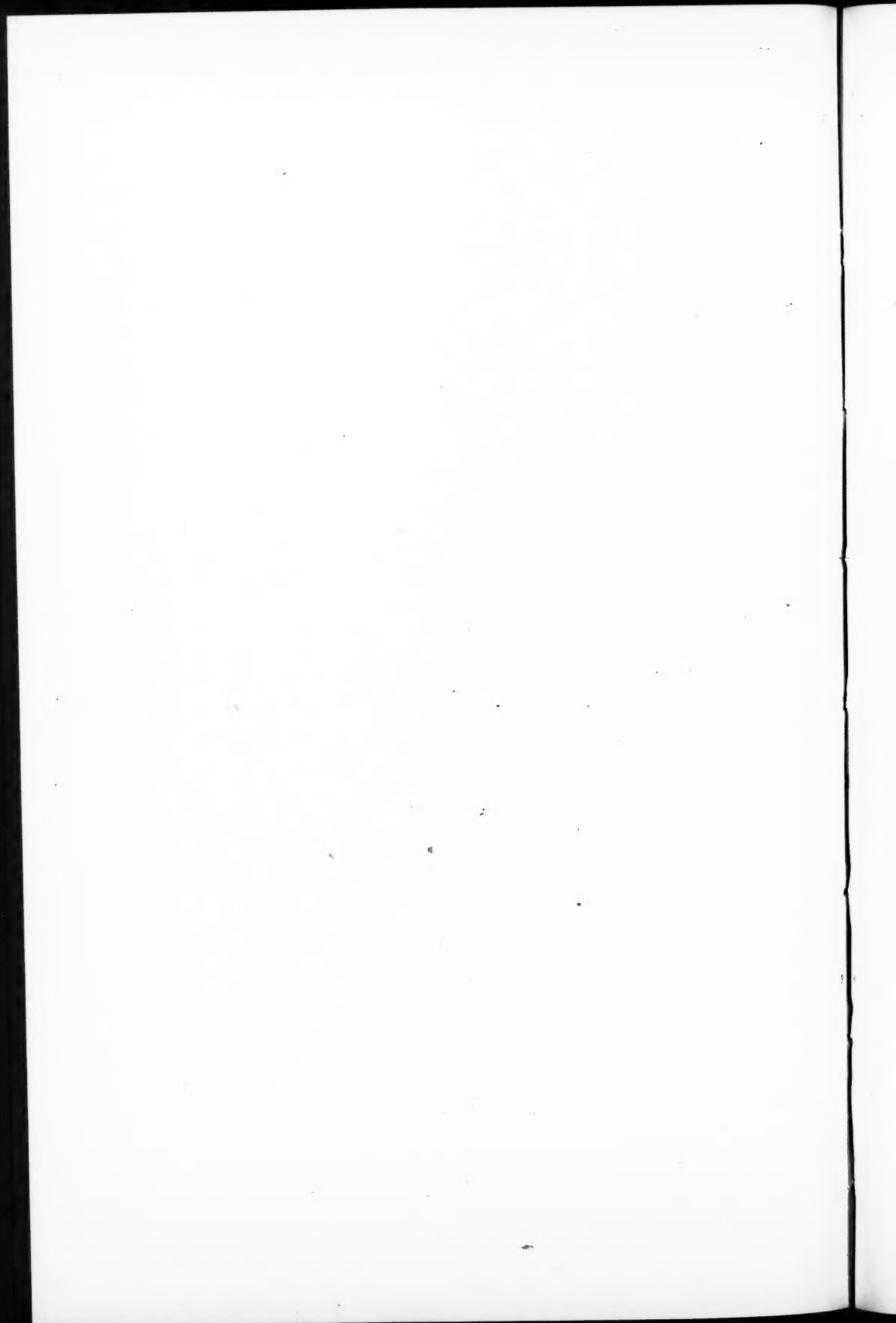
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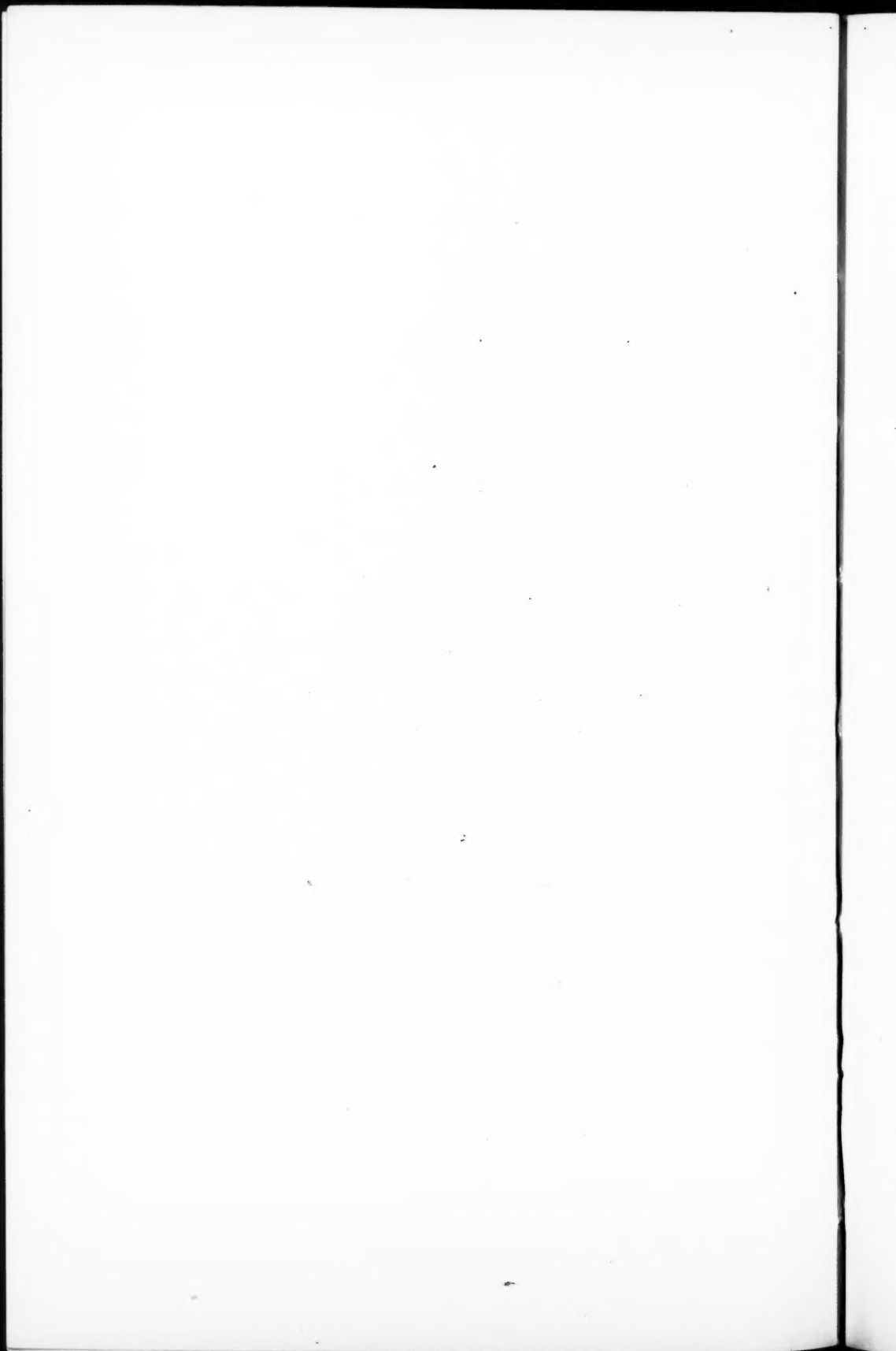
Volume X, 1926, No. 4

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CONTENTS

	Page
THE NEWSPAPER ATTACK ON DR. TAPPAN—CHARLES M. PERRY.....	495
LITTLE JOURNEYS IN JOURNALISM—WILBUR F. STOREY— GEORGE B. CATLIN.....	515
HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS—IRMA T. JONES.....	534
MISS RUTH HOPPIN, EDUCATOR—SUE I. SILLIMAN.....	550
GOVERNOR JOHN T. RICH—JOSEPH B. MOORE.....	569
COALITION LEGISLATURE OF 1891—ARTHUR S. WHITE...	574
SOME INTERESTING THINGS IN THE FORD HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS—HENRY A. HAIGH.....	582
THE FIRST ST. LAWRENCE DEEPENING SCHEME—GEORGE W. BROWN.....	593
FIFTY YEARS OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN DETROIT— WILLIAM STOCKING.....	606
HISTORICAL NOTES.....	627
AMONG THE BOOKS.....	656



MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

VOL. X

OCTOBER, 1926

WHOLE No. 37

THE NEWSPAPER ATTACK ON DR. TAPPAN

BY CHARLES M. PERRY, PH. D.

(Professor of Philosophy in the University of Oklahoma)

DR. TAPPAN started out with youthful energy to realize the ideas which he had cherished so long. When he came to the University the library contained about 4,500 volumes, four thousand of which had been purchased in Europe in 1844 by Prof. Asa Gray. It had been the custom for some member of the faculty to hold the nominal office of librarian while some student under his direction gave out books once or twice a week. As a result of lack of system many had been scattered or lost. The library consisted mostly of English books, being deficient in scientific works, works in American literature and works of reference. Tappan centered his interest on the Library as a pivotal point in his undertaking. He appealed to the citizens of Ann Arbor and they responded with a subscription of \$1,500. After this the Regents made an annual appropriation for the purpose. A room was fitted up and the books were arranged by John L. Tappan, the President's son, whom the Regents appointed librarian. Under these favorable auspices the library began to increase in valuable books and to take on the character that such a department of the University should have.¹

One of Tappan's earliest undertakings was the establishment of an astronomical observatory. On the day of his inauguration Henry N. Walker of Detroit, after hearing his

¹This series of articles began with the January number, 1926.

¹Utley, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection*, V. 32.

inaugural address, called upon him and asked what he could do for the University. Dr. Tappan replied with a suggestion that the citizens of Detroit be asked to subscribe money for the erection and equipment of an observatory. This idea appealed to Mr. Walker and at his suggestion Dr. Tappan addressed a meeting of some of the gentlemen of Detroit, \$7,000 being raised in a few days.² How much energy the new president put into this task is indicated by the story that while Tappan was tramping about the streets of Detroit one of his contributors called him into his factory and offered to add a pair of boots to his contribution, saying that the Doctor had worn out at least one pair of boots in a good cause.³

When Tappan started for Europe in February of 1853, according to plans arranged before he accepted the presidency of the University, Mr. Walker accompanied him as far as New York City where they placed an order for a twelve-inch refracting telescope. While in Europe Dr. Tappan placed orders for further equipment and made the acquaintance of Dr. Brunnov at Berlin, whom he induced to come to America and take the chair of astronomy in the University. This was a great piece of good fortune for the new observatory, as Dr. Brunnov was already an astronomer of reputation.⁴ In the summer of 1853 Tappan returned and made his report to the Regents.

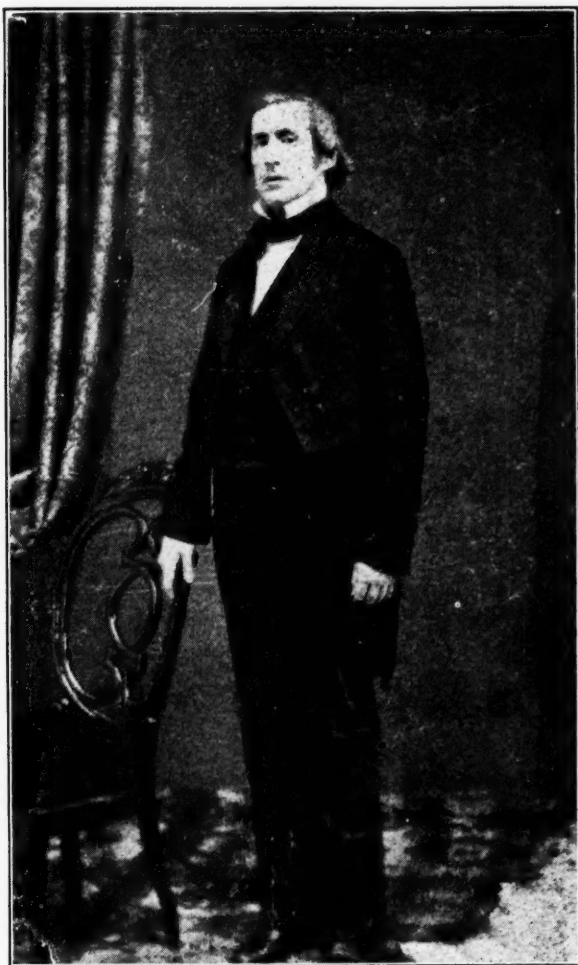
Thus far the new administration was running in well-oiled grooves: the Regents were sympathetic; outstanding citizens like H. N. Walker appreciated Tappan's idealism; and elements in the population who would normally be critical had not yet found anything to oppose. But a storm was gathering.

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514
The editor and owner of the *Detroit Free Press* at the time was W. F. Storey. Storey was a selfmade man. He was born in Vermont, received his schooling by attending district school during winter seasons until he was twelve years old, and was then apprenticed to a printer, beginning his career as a

²Farrand, *History of the University of Michigan*, 113-114.

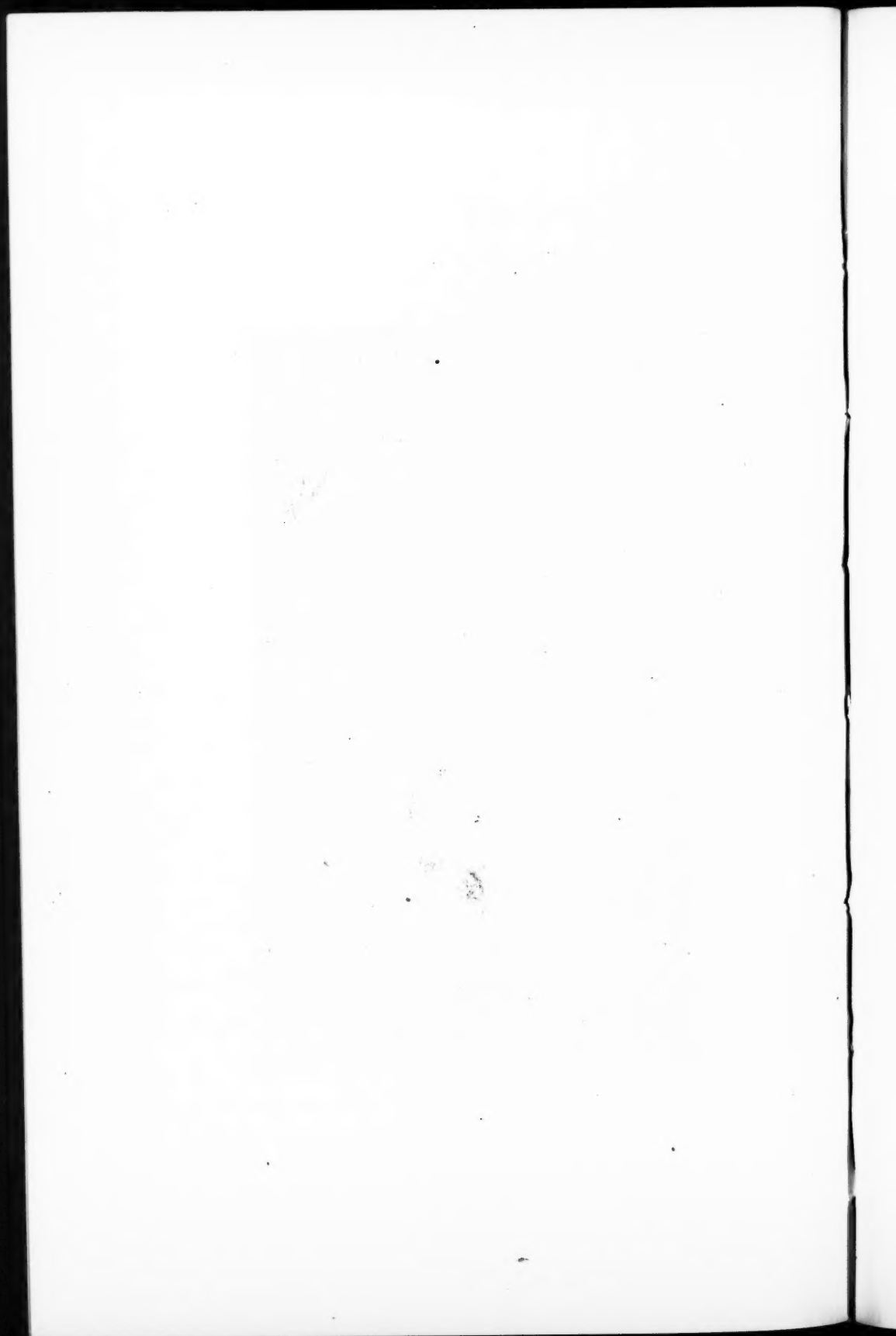
³Quimby, *Michigan Alumnus*, IV, 211-213.

⁴Farrand, *History of the University of Michigan*, 114-115.



Henry Philip Tappan
(1861) -

port.



printer's devil. At the end of five years he went to New York and worked as a printer until he had saved \$200. With this fund he went to South Bend, Indiana, where he had a married sister, and worked at his trade. Being anxious to own a paper in which he could print the news and air his own opinions he went to La Porte and started a democratic weekly newspaper. This venture failing, he went back to South Bend and worked at his trade until he became editor of the *Tocsin*. As his editorial duties did not occupy all of his time he opened a small drug store, where he did most of his editorial work. Later he went to Jackson, Michigan, where he founded the *Jackson Patriot*, which shouted so loudly for James K. Polk that the owner was appointed postmaster. While he was connected with the *Patriot* he and his partner "pulled" a journalistic trick which secured a state contract. It seems that it was necessary to publish a paper in Ingham County in order to get the job of publishing the tax titles of the state. To fulfill this condition they sent a printing outfit in charge of a printer into Ingham County and struck off a sheet which they called the *Ingham Democrat*. The trick worked and they got the contract.

In 1853 he moved to Detroit and bought the *Free Press*. Here especially his characteristic attitudes were assumed. He attacked the Abolitionists viciously, supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act, denounced the Republicans as immitigated abolitionists and disunionists. As the Republicans gained strength he became more bitter, asserted the right of the Southern states to secede from the Union, and affirmed that the government would encounter a fire in the rear if it tried to coerce the South.

In the conduct of his paper he gathered an able staff around him and ruled them with an iron discipline. He respected no man's opinions with the possible exception of those of Lewis Cass. He declared that he wanted no friends, as having friends would hamper his freedom in printing the news. He despised the social proprieties and conventions. He was

opposed to showing favors to anyone because of wealth, station, political affiliations, or influence. He frequently declared to his staff that "The function of a newspaper is to print the news, and raise hell". The people "enjoyed his savage diatribes as they would have enjoyed a dog fight". Especially was he hostile to sentimentality. Later, when he was located in Chicago, he became deeply disgusted at the accounts of hangings in which the condemned man made his peace with God, stated that he knew he was saved and expressed hope of meeting all present in heaven very soon. "If that's the kind of slush the public wants to read," he said, "they shall have a plenty." In such a mood he wrote a head for a hanging story "Jerked to Jesus". Needless to say, such language would not have been approved by Tappan.

To get an idea of Storey's great energy and brilliancy we must glance at his later life. He left the *Free Press* in 1861 and bought the *Chicago Times*, paying only \$21,000. During the war when mobs gathered in front of the *Times* building to denounce the paper as a copperhead organ, loaded muskets and hand grenades were kept handy to resist attack, and lines of hose connected with pipes of live steam from boilers in the basement were ready for the same purpose. But with all his fighting, the *Times* prospered. Storey rose to the rank of a millionaire, and sent his correspondents all over the world. This subsequent career indicates how large he bulked in the local situation in Michigan when he was editor and owner of the *Free Press*.⁵

When Tappan returned from Europe a report was made in the due course to the Board of Regents. In that report Tappan recounted what he had done in getting instruments for the observatory, spoke freely of the men whom he had met and the assistance they had given him, and had a great deal to say about Dr. Brunnow, Prof. Encke's assistant. In saying these things it was almost inevitable that places should be mentioned and words used that would challenge the fierce

⁵Catlin, "Wilbur F. Storey" (Manuscript), 1-9. See article in this number of the Magazine.

democracy of a pioneer state. He mentioned the "Royal Observatory of Prussia" and made various references to the Prussian system of education and to the university ideal. This was Storey's opportunity.

Earlier than this there had been at least one ominous rumble. The *Free Press* for March 5, 1853 in commenting upon Tappan's departure for Europe had made reference to the fact that in some quarters he was mentioned as the "*Chancellor* of the University of Michigan", and had stated that "by the terms of the constitution he is simply and plainly the *President* of the University."⁶ The word "Chancellor", though it had been contained in the law of 1837 organizing the University, now seemed to have a foreign and aristocratic sound, and his using it was destined soon to be interpreted as an act of presumption on Tappan's part. But the storm did not break until more material was available.

December 24 Storey published his first article on Tappan's report to the Board of Regents and other articles followed within the next few days. The writer was not unreservedly hostile. He says, for instance, "We have hoped, and yet hope, that he [Tappan] combines those qualifications which are essential to a successful administration of the University. We trust he *will* succeed;" "Egregious vanity and assumption are tolerable, if there are counterbalancing good qualities." But Storey had a keen eye for what he regarded as Tappan's pretensions. Affectations in style especially aroused his sarcasm and he either italicized Tappan's pet phrases or put them in quotation. He states, for example, how the president, speaking of the observatory, "cannot but be sanguine of the results we shall arrive at *under the transparent and serene skies of Michigan.*" Tappan "of course made the acquaintance of Professor Encke, the well known and distinguished astronomer of the Royal Observatory." Here it was, too, that he ran against Dr. Brunnow; and Dr. Brunnow turned out to be a trump." He quotes the report to the effect that the Presi-

⁶Detroit *Free Press*, Mar. 5, 1853.

dent was in New York on his way to Europe when he purchased the telescope, and then comments as follows: "It was when President Tappan was *on his way to Europe* that he made this contract with Mr. Fitz, a fact to be remembered."⁷ In the second article he proposes "to poke around amongst the rubbish" of the rest of the report. "As a literary performance President Tappan's report is not creditable to him, and it would not be creditable to any undergraduate of the University. Its style is singularly loose and verbose. The slightest and most immaterial particulars are dwelt upon, and really important facts and suggestions are buried in a multiplicity of words, the President himself being always the most prominent object in view."⁸ Tappan's idea of cities and towns comes in for comment, though Storey admits that it does not appear in the report. "He thinks no city should be without its heaven pointing monuments and great public works. He conceives that it is a mistake of the Americans that they build warehouses and neglect monuments. He wants to know what will be thought of our country, by future generations, when our structure shall have crumbled, if there shall be no silent gloomy monuments found, overlooking the general wreck of matter? With far-stretching vision, he sees America reduced to Egyptian decay, and he is of opinion that we ought to write the history of our rise and progress upon tall monuments for the especial edification of generations that will be yet unborn half a dozen centuries hence! Something akin to this is his notion of institutions of learning."⁹

And in this flood of ridicule the question of the Chancellorship had to come up. Storey observes that the President still clings to the title of "Chancellor" and proceeds to comment. "He had better drop that, if he ever expects to succeed in his office. It is an assumption alike unwarrantable, ridiculous, and contemptible. It betrays a weakness and a vanity that is inexcusable." By the terms of the Constitution he is *President*

⁷*Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1853.

⁸*Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1853.

⁹*Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1853.

of the University—nothing more and nothing less. "He can assume his legitimate title, or he can continue to make himself the object of public ridicule that will soon grow into public contempt."¹⁰ Then Storey finds the word "Chancellor" appearing again in the report and he gives vent to his feelings as follows: "Who, Mr. Tappan, is the *Chancellor* of the University? Our advice to you, Mr. Tappan, is, that you hereafter let go of that title, just as you would let go of a hot potato. It will burn, if you don't."¹¹

Much of the animus of this attack sprang from the feeling that the new president was not democratic. In a moment of generosity Storey concedes that "It is not to be expected that a man can escape from the atmosphere of a city codfish aristocracy, and at once accommodate himself to the habits of thought and action of a provincial population, famous more for its independence, and contempt for affectation, than for deference to self-assumed importance and peacock pomposity—a population that has just as much respect for a man who has not been 'absent in Europe' as for one who has."¹² Showing the same trend the writer of the articles states that he has learned that the President went to Europe as a private tutor of a young sprout, the scion of one of the 'upper ten' families in New York."¹³

Of a piece with this ultra democracy, Storey criticizes Tappan's leaning towards the "Prussian system." A practical man, he admits, could undoubtedly learn much by an examination of that system, but to believe that we want it in its entirety is preposterous. We want just so much of it as can be profitably adapted to our system of government, trade and so forth. To make this adaptation, however, requires great judgment and caution and a thorough understanding of the genius of our institutions and the educational needs of our people. Tappan seems "to be in danger of forgetting that Michigan is not Prussia, and Ann Arbor not Berlin."¹⁴

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1853.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1853.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1853.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

Moreover, Michigan did not need a "high university." What the citizens of the state needed was a school that should prepare men for the practical duties of life. To extend education beyond this point was no part of the business of the state. Universities such as Dr. Tappan was advocating must be the work of private enterprise, not supported by taxation. Tappan would send the University to ultimate ruin; the idea of magnificence must be abandoned, the scale of operations reduced. It must seek to be useful rather than grand.¹⁵

But the pinch came in regard to the cost of Tappan's plans. The University "must be carried on with the means already at its command; for the people will not brook taxation for its support." The present endowment was regarded as sufficient to enable it to realize all the purposes for which it was created, at least for years to come. When its operations should require it to be enlarged, its permanent resources might also be enlarged.¹⁶ If the endowment should not prove sufficient, the recipients of its benefits should be taxed to make up the deficiency.¹⁷

This attack by Storey started all the papers that acknowledged the leadership of the *Free Press*. The *Centreville Chronicle*, after commenting on Storey's articles, ventured the assertion that Tappan was no more fit to be President of the University than "Uncle Tom" was fit to be President of the United States. And it continued: "He is vain, silly, extravagant, a dreaming theorizer, an aping aristocrat." It notes Tappan's thinking "the royal perjured traitor of Prussia, with his satellites" to be the pink of perfection. And again, "The Prussian people are not as intelligent as the American people, or else monarchy would not raise its blood-thirsty head over so fair a land." "The people want a practical, economical, self-sustaining institution, and if Mr. Tappan is not satisfied with that the sooner he leaves 'these diggins', the better."¹⁸ The *Kalamazoo Gazette* added its quota. Tappan, according to

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1853.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1853.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1854.

the *Gazette* was "an aristocrat of the most exclusive school, and regal in all his views and feelings. In his mind, pyramids and mausoleums erected to some distinguished character, and made to perpetuate a single name, have far more charms than universal enlightenment, and the elevation of the masses." The *Gazette* would prevent the University from being "a nursery for the propagation of antique learning, and for doctrines at war with republican simplicity, and the equal rights of man."¹⁹

The *Lansing Journal* referred to "‘His Magnificance,’ the Kanzler" as dragooning the wicked wits who laughed at him into the abject submission which the Prussian system requires of the "‘lower classes’". It also refers to "‘our mutual friend, Pah Mah’", imitating Tappan's eastern accent and²⁰ in a later issue speaks of "that unknown sympathy which has united the ‘Kanzler’ and ‘our mutual friend, Pah-Mah’".²¹ A writer from Ann Arbor who had heard the President speak in that village wrote as follows to the *Lansing Journal*: "Of all the imitations of English aristocracy, German mysticism, Prussian imperiousness, and Parisian nonsensities, he is altogether the most un-Americanized—the most completely foreignized specimen of an abnormal Yankee, we have ever seen. His thoughts, his oratory, his conversation, his social manners, his walk, and even his very prayers, are senseless mimicries of the follies of a rotten aristocracy over the sea."²² The *Cassopolis Democrat* thought that Dr. Tappan's ideas were better suited to the latitude of Vienna or St. Petersburg than to that of Michigan.²³ The strength of this opposition and the party alignment involved is shown in the statement of one correspondent who stated that there were twenty-three Democratic papers throughout the state that had condemned Tappan as unfit for the position that he held.²⁴

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1854.

²⁰*Ibid.*, May 13, 1854.

²¹*Ibid.*, May 20, 1854.

²²*Ibid.*, July 9, 1854.

²³*Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1854.

²⁴*Ibid.*, June 29, 1854.

Meanwhile what was the President doing? Haven wrote later in his *Autobiography* that Tappan was not accustomed to this kind of strife,²⁵ and it is to be inferred that he did not know how to counteract the charges against him. He did, however, give vent to his feelings in the matter, if we can trust some of the correspondents. One who signed himself "A Democrat" attended an alumni meeting at Ann Arbor at commencement time in 1854, at which Tappan spoke, and wrote down his impressions for the *Lansing Journal*. Tappan is represented as asserting that he had "nevah, nevah, known fear", and as comparing the press of the state to a chorus of "Michigan bull frogs." To appreciate fully the way this gibe was taken we must realize that in the middle of the last century in the Middle West, "bull frog" was a word to bring a blush to the cheek of innocence. According to the correspondent, he jeered at the power of the press and boasted that his position was firm and beyond anyone's reach, due to his understanding with the Regents.²⁶ A similar report went to the *Free Press*, the President being represented as saying that if he ever fought a duel it would be with gentlemen, but that those who maligned him were no such creatures.²⁷ Of course allowance must be made for malice in these reports, but even the friendly *Ann Arbor Argus* said that he "did up" the demagogues,²⁸ and the same paper in defending Tappan said that he did not say that the papers were "croaking bull frogs" but that some of those connected with the press were like "croaking bull frogs."²⁹ From this we see that after making allowance for distortion, the President was somewhat sarcastic.

Storey, stirred by the turmoil which he had created, kept up a running fire. In January 1854 he came across a copy of the University catalogue for 1853-1854 and there was Tappan set down three times as "Chancellor", after all that Storey had said upon the matter! This was too much! "So President Tappan is not cured of this chancellor disease yet. The allo-

²⁵Haven, *Autobiography*, 108.

²⁶Detroit *Free Press*, July 9, 1854.

²⁷*Ibid.*, June 29, 1854.

²⁸The *Michigan Argus*, July 14, 1854.

²⁹*Ibid.*, July 21, 1854.

pathic doses that have been administered haven't moved him a particle". "The thing is disgusting. It shows up Mr. Tappan as a *thorough and unmitigated ass*."³⁰ A correspondent who signed himself "One of the People" had evidently read Tappan's "University Education" and had had his democratic ire aroused. "No one," he says, "can rise from its perusal without a thought of codfish."³¹

In his hostility Storey began to tread on more and more questionable ground. He questioned the method by which Tappan had secured the presidency and charged that he had deceived the Regents regarding his previous contract to go abroad in private pay the following summer, and also regarding his relations to homeopathy.³² He accused him of discharging the elected secretary of the Board for personal reasons and substituting his friend Palmer.³³ He hinted that Tappan had taken commissions on purchases made by him for the University. Again, with enormously inflated figures, he tried to show that the proposals of President Tappan to introduce the "Prussian System" would cost sums greatly in excess of the income of the University.³⁴

In May 1854 an article appeared in the *Free Press* containing the following: "We learn that Dr. Brunnow, the assistant of Encke, in the Royal Observatory of Prussia, with whom, it will be recollected, 'Chancellor' Tappan slept while engaged in contracting with Pistow and Martins for an astronomical clock, has been elected by the Regents of the University of Michigan to take charge of the Royal Observatory at Ann Arbor. . . . We presume that the clock is completed by this time, and that Dr. Brunnow will bring it over in the same ship with himself." It is remarked further that it is fortunate that Tappan and Brunnow will "be enabled to once more sleep in the same bed."³⁵

³⁰*Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 31, 1854.

³¹*Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1854.

³²*Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1854.

³³*Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1854.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1854.

³⁵*Ibid.*, May 26, 1854.

Two events occurred during the spring and fall of 1854 which tended to add fuel to the fire. Prof. Allen of the Medical Department was dismissed by the Regents for reasons that were not made very plain;³⁶ and some of the members of the faculty evidently made a clumsy attempt to secure the defeat of F. W. Shearman in his effort to be reelected Superintendent of Public Instruction, the reason assigned to them being that he was hostile to the "Prussian system".³⁷ As an illustration of the prevailing journalistic style, a communication in the *Free Press* signed "M" contains reference to "Mr. Tappan and his toadying pimps and advisers."³⁸ Of the Allen case we shall hear echoes in connection with later troubles.

The question naturally arises whether anyone wrote in defence of Tappan during this onslaught. Of course the Ann Arbor local papers, the *Argus* and the *Washtenaw Whig*, espoused his cause editorially. In the larger journalistic field several articles and communications appeared in his behalf. ✓ E. O. Haven, who was then on the faculty and later succeeded Tappan in the presidency, states that he assumed a pen name and entered the lists in defence of the president at this time.³⁹ It is evident that others also took up this work. January 13, 1854 the editor of the *Free Press* is taken to task briefly in his own columns by "Burschen."⁴⁰ A few days later a more detailed and very competent letter appears in the *Free Press* criticizing with great keenness the charges made by the paper and the figures it had presented.⁴¹ The *Detroit Daily Advertiser* both supported Tappan editorially and opened its columns to communications justifying his policies. The democracy and the scholarly spirit of Prussian universities for instance, were ably expounded.⁴² The benefits of the changes that Dr. Tappan had introduced were recounted enthusiastically by a student of the University.⁴³ By others, the trivial-

³⁶*Ibid.*, June 3, 30, July 28, 1854.

³⁷*Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1854.

³⁸*Ibid.*, June 30, 1854.

³⁹Haven, *Autobiography*, 108.

⁴⁰*Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 13, 1854.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1854.

⁴²*Detroit Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 10, 1854.

⁴³*Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1854.

ity of many of the charges against the President was disposed of and the dishonesty of the figures presented and the insinuations against his character thoroughly exposed.⁴⁴

A good statement of the case was made by the *Baptist Michigan Christian Herald*. After giving a fair resumé of the contents of Tappan's report to the Regents it continues: "The source whence they emanate entitles them to consideration, and demands, that if they are to be opposed and resisted, they be met with sober reasons, with sound arguments. That the proposed changes, so radical, will be earnestly canvassed and decidedly opposed, is to be expected, but, as yet, the chief objections to the report have been on the score of taste, and, we think, not well taken. It has been ridiculed as egotistical and unnecessarily minute in detail. But it should be remembered that the writer is giving an account of his own agency, or stewardship, of what he was requested to do and to see, and that to discharge such a duty, and not make frequent use of the first person singular, or else use a tedious circumlocution, was impossible. Responsible to the Board of Regents, a somewhat circumstantial account of his agency was due to them, at least, if not to the public at large. We see not why the style of the report is not eminently appropriate to the subject and the occasion. The use of the title *Chancellor*, instead of President, has been a subject of grave complaint against the Dr. This, too, is a matter of taste about which we feel no inclination to quarrel. In some universities of the United States the chief officer is called President, and in some Chancellor. The words are either sufficiently American in use and association, the one as much identified with the judicial as the other is with the political history of our country. Presses and people speak of the chief officer of Michigan University sometimes by one title and sometimes by the other, using them interchangeably, and we suppose generally care not a pin which is employed. May we not hope that some fault more serious than this will be found with the learned and

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⁴⁴*Ibid*, Jan. 31, Feb. 6, 1854.

polished author of the Report before his election to the post he now occupies shall have been voted an educational blunder?"⁴⁵

In the beginning of 1855 the storm began to abate. Whether it was due to the arguments which the friends of Tappan put forth, or to a more conciliatory attitude on Tappan's part or to a change in popular interest is hard to say. Early in January of that year the report of the Board of Visitors of the University was made public. In that document the use of the title of chancellor by Dr. Tappan was explained as having been due to a misunderstanding at the time of his inauguration and they recommended that it be dropped as a vain and useless appendage.⁴⁶ This report tended to soften the attitude of the *Free Press*. About the same time Tappan made a speech to the members of the two houses of the legislature in Lansing in which he detailed at length the meaning of the word "Chancellor" and told the chain of circumstances under which it had been given him. He concluded by saying that he had not laid it aside when he found it made the ground of attack, because he was not perhaps disposed to yield more easily than other people; he was a Dutchman and had perhaps some degree of Dutch obstinacy. But he would agree to lay it aside forever if they in return would give him the means to popularize education.⁴⁷ Concerning that speech even the *Lansing Journal* said: "Very many of his practical suggestions met our cordial approbation".⁴⁸

Apropos of the same speech the *Free Press* expressed itself editorially as follows: "President Tappan,—he has, we learn, dropped the title of 'Chancellor,' a fact which augurs returning sense, indicates respect for public opinion, excites in us symptoms of esteem we have not felt before, and animates a hope that we shall be able to make something of the man yet,—President Tappan, as our readers are already aware, is before the Legislature with an application for relief to the University.

⁴⁵*Michigan Christian Herald*, Jan. 12, 1854.

⁴⁶*Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 17, 1854.

⁴⁷*Detroit Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 18, 1855.

⁴⁸*Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 21, 1855.

It is fair that we should let the public know the grounds of this application. Such is our duty in fact. We are not one of those who believe that no good can come out of Nazareth. President Tappan has pluck; that's one thing in his favor. He has will and perseverance; those are two other things to be set down to his credit.—When he made his advent at Ann Arbor, he was too Eastern, too European, too Prussian, to make a popular President of a western democratic University. We think some of the rough corners of these faults have been knocked off, and that by this time, perhaps, he begins to understand and appreciate western character—western institutions—western wants,—that he has learned that Michigan is not a province of Bleeker street, or a dependency of Prussia, and that she has no need of aping the educational system of either,—that he estimates somewhat the popular contempt of swelling pretension and empty presumption,—that, in short, he may have been divested of some of the notions of matters and things which he brought with him, and is gradually undergoing acclimation. Thus thinking, and in consideration of his having dropped the title of 'Chancellor,' we are willing still to try him—to extend his probation, and see what will yet come of him; holding ourselves bound to approve everything that we conscientiously can, but 'nothing extenuate' when affairs go 'all wrong.' And in the same editorial, after discussing the question of appropriations for the University, Storey had this to say: "Nevertheless, if the Legislature can rightfully and properly afford any relief to the University, so as to place it beyond embarrassment, and put it out of the power of the managers to say that they have not the means to make it what it should be, we shall not be among those who will complain. This done, the People, the Press, and the Legislature must insist upon more frequent meetings of, and a more faithful discharge of their duties by, the Regents, than hitherto; that the Prussian jack o'-lantern shall be no longer pursued; that extravagant building, or alteration of buildings, shall not be

undertaken; and that politics and political Professors shall be banished from the institution."⁴⁹

What did this whole attack mean? It was probably due, as much as to anything, to pique and love of fighting on the part of W. F. Storey. He may have been irritated not only by Tappan's pretensions but also by the fact that certain of the professors had been participating in anti-slavery organizations. Whedon had been charged by the former board of Regents with advocating the "higher law," and Haven had been charged with taking part in the "Jackson disunion convention". The last sentence of the above quotation indicates that he was sensitive on that point. The storm of criticism may also be credited to the fact that there were editors over the state who looked upon their positions as affording opportunity to air their opinions and who imitated Storey in their style. There was a sense of camaraderie in cleverness and abuse that was bolstered up by the fact that their respective papers found their way daily or weekly each into the offices of the others—these papers were "round robins" of "smart" remarks. It must not be denied, also, that Tappan himself was responsible to a certain extent for the reception which he received. When he was at his best he was nobly eloquent, but he was likely at other times to introduce needless details, as Storey charged, and to use words that sounded pompous and affected. He lacked humor and the ability to sense the mind of the state. But a great difficulty lay in the people themselves. As we have witnessed, they were at that stage at which they exalted their ruggedness, their simplicity, and their equality, and looked upon anyone with suspicion who had better manners or had a foreign accent. Their trying to make fun of Tappan's "Nevah", "Pah-Mah", and "Prussian" speaks whole volumes as to their culture. Many of them had come from the East where they had suffered from the restrictions of a more highly organized society, and here in the West they had found opportunity and by their own virtues had in many

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1855.

instances made their own fortunes. But even with their success the sense of inferiority to the subtleties of a more complex social order remained with them. Now came Tappan with his "kid-glove" manners, his "upper-crust" ideals, his exaltation of the institutions of the effete monarchies of Europe, which were soon to be numbered with Assyria and Babylon, and tried to civilize them. It smelled of "Codfish." This was their chance to "get even" and they proceeded to do it.

How profound the influence of this disturbance was it is hard to say. Haven says that the attacks were "frivolous and groundless and soon subsided." Whether their consequences subsided so soon is open to question. Making the man and his policies ridiculous before so many people was a serious matter and must have carried over into subsequent controversies. How it affected the legislature is shown in an account sent from Lansing to the *Free Press*. A joint resolution was before the House to invite the Rev. Dr. Tappan to address the two houses. Sherman of Ontonagon moved to strike out "Doctor" and insert "Kanzler". A scene ensued and Sherman finally withdrew his motion. The resolution was then amended to read "allowing" instead of "inviting," and in this form it was carried.⁵⁰ Such an attitude was not favorable to the President's getting what he wanted for the University, though, as a matter of fact, he succeeded in making a good impression when he made the address above referred to.⁵¹

In concluding this chapter two things should be mentioned in extenuation of Tappan's attitude on the Chancellorship. One is that the law of 1837 organizing the University had contained a provision for a "chancellor", though the office never had been filled. If it had had the sanction of law for fourteen years, until two years before Tappan's inauguration, it could not have been a very serious offence against the spirit of democracy for him to assume it through a misapprehension. And the second consideration is that the title stuck to him later, whether he wanted it or not, as a term of reverence and

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1855.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1855.

endearment. His "boys" thirty, forty, and fifty years later loved to refer to him as the "Old Chancellor". There was no other title that was resounding and glamorous enough to fit his position and achievements in the history of the state. The fact that no one else ever bore it set him apart from more prosaic persons and made him almost mythical. Tappan stands out so strongly now, in the purity of his motives and the loftiness of his conceptions, that his opponents of those days are distinctly dwarfed in their perhaps unconscious meanness and ingratitude.

LITTLE JOURNEYS IN JOURNALISM

WILBUR F. STOREY

Founder of The Jackson Patriot**Ingham Democrat**Chicago Times**
and Former Publisher of The Detroit Free Press

BY GEORGE B. CATLIN

DETROIT NEWS

ONE of the most unique and forceful figures in American journalism for a period of more than twenty years was Wilbur F. Storey, who was best known through his ownership of the *Chicago Times*, of which he was editor and publisher.

Wilbur Fisk Storey was born on a farm near Salisbury, Vt., a small village twenty-two miles northwest of Rutland, December 19, 1819. He received a common school education by attending a district school during the winter seasons until he was twelve years of age. Then, in the fashion of the time, he was "bound out" or apprenticed to the proprietor of the *Middlebury Free Press* to learn the printing trade and began work as a "printer's devil" washing the ink from the type with lye after each printing, doing odd jobs, errand boy service, and learning to set type under the direction of the foreman of the office.

At the end of five years he had become sufficiently skillful and accurate to secure employment on the *New York Journal of Commerce*. It is possible that Storey was a runaway apprentice, for even in those days when only a moderate range of the printing art was employed on newspapers, it was the custom for an apprentice to serve seven years before he attained the rank of a journeyman printer.

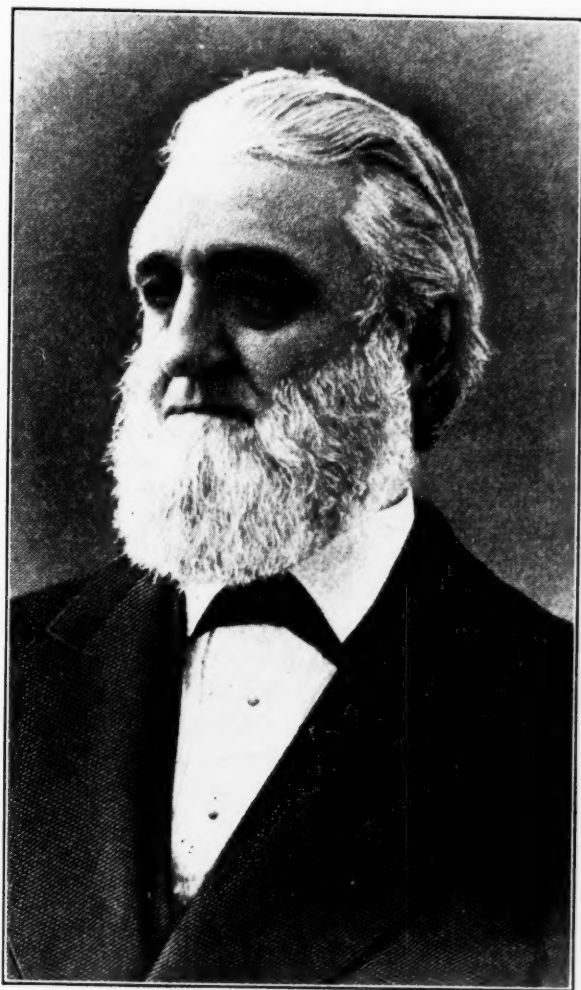
In New York Mr. Storey must have been an industrious and sober printer in the midst of strong temptations, for in two

This series began with the January number, 1926.

years he saved up a fund of \$200 and with this small capital he set out in 1838 for South Bend, Indiana, where an older married sister was living. At South Bend he worked at his trade and boarded with his sister but, like every other printer of his time, his ambition was to own a newspaper, print the news and air his personal opinions in an editorial column of his own, free from all irksome proprietary restraints. Presently he had sufficient capital to make the venture of publishing a democratic weekly newspaper at Laporte, Ind., which had only been an incorporated village since 1832.

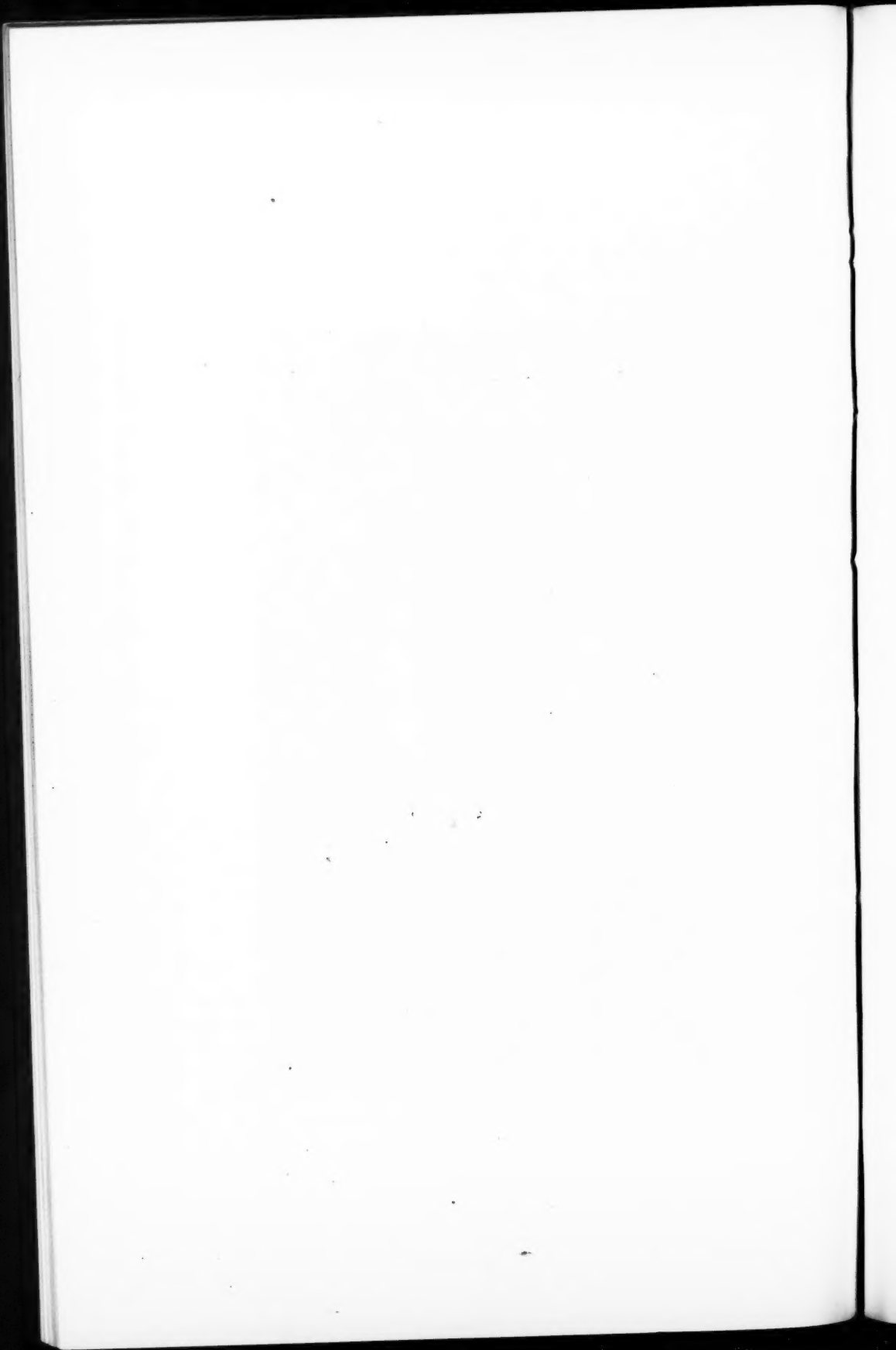
The town proved too small to support a newspaper, and after hanging on grimly until his resources were exhausted Storey went back to South Bend. He had developed some ability as a writer and editor in spite of his limited education, and his next job was as editor of the *Tocsin*, a South Bend weekly newspaper. He found that his duties gave him a good deal of spare time so, ambitious to get on in the world, he opened a small drug store, in which he did most of his editorial work. Weekly papers of those days were largely devoted to miscellany, which was scissored from other publications, and while searching for this sort of matter young Storey read all the exchanges and magazines he could lay hands upon and kept his eye open for business opportunities.

His second period in South Bend lasted two years, and at the end of that time he decided to move to Jackson, Michigan, where the state legislature had built a state prison in 1838 and the residents were looking forward with great expectations in spite of the involuntary increase of undesirable population. The Michigan Central railway had been completed to Jackson at the end of 1841 and the construction was being pushed rapidly across the state. Jackson is about 70 miles from Detroit and its situation appealed to Mr. Storey, so he moved there. Jackson was one of that group of Michigan counties which were named when Michigan legislators were trying to climb aboard the bandwagon of President Andrew Jackson, whose election most of them had strenuously opposed.



Wilbur F. Storey
About 1880

gal



So in order to win the favor of the new administration they named counties like Jackson, Calhoun, Ingham, Mason, Berrien, Van Buren, Eaton and Barry to honor the president, vice-president and all his cabinet officers.

Nicholas Sullivan had started a newspaper of Whig tendencies in Jackson in 1837 when the village was known as Jacksonburg. The name was abbreviated to Jackson in 1840 but in that year Sullivan's newspaper, the *Sentinel*, gave up the ghost. Immediately Hitchcock & George founded the *Michigan State Gazette*, which lasted for eight years, when it was succeeded by the *American Citizen*, published by A. A. Dorrance. Col. C. V. DeLand bought it and later sold part of his interest, so the firm became Bentley & DeLand. The next proprietor was James O'Donnell who published the *Citizen* for many years, renaming it the *Jackson Citizen*.

*Jackson
newspapers*

The *Michigan Democrat* was founded in Jackson in 1838 by George W. Raney and Reuben S. Chaney, and when it died in their hands Wilbur F. Storey came to town to found the *Jackson Patriot*. Mr. Storey appears to have absorbed all the political bitterness of that time, but while he dipped his pen in picric acid, editorially, he made a good newspaper and showed a keen appreciation of news values. In the campaign of 1844 he made the *Patriot* whoop so loudly for the candidacy of James K. Polk that his policy presently brought home the bacon, for President Polk appointed him postmaster at Jackson which meant an increase of both income and prestige to the recent arrival from South Bend.

Having accomplished that end Mr. Storey sold part of his interest in the *Patriot* to Reuben S. Chaney, whom he had taken in as a partner, and opened a drug store which made money for several years. Mr. Chaney in the course of time became postmaster. But before Storey sold out entirely the two partners played an enterprising trick of journalism in order to secure a state contract. In March, 1845, the legislature of Michigan passed an act restoring to the auditor general, Henry N. Walker, the entire control of the tax advertis-

ing of the state, which was a much sought contract. Storey & Chaney packed up a printing outfit and sent it into Ingham County in charge of a printer. They found the field already occupied by another printer who had rushed in from Marshall. They then made up a form for a paper from the standing matter of the *Jackson Patriot* and named it the *Ingham Democrat*. Having no type for the head of this pretense of a newspaper they made one by painting the letters on with a brush and ink. They carried a few copies of the *Ingham Democrat* to Leslie and exhibited them to Henry Fiske, the Judge of Probate and obtained a certification that the papers had been printed in Ingham County. They then went to Detroit, showed the papers and the certificate of publication to Attorney-General Walker and came away on April 1, with the contract for advertising the tax sales for that year. Subsequently the as yet homeless *Ingham County Democrat* was established at Mason, the county seat. Naturally Storey & Chaney did not care to abandon their Jackson enterprises, postoffice, newspaper and drug store so they made an arrangement with a printer named Child to publish the *Ingham Democrat* in their name until the term of the tax sale contract should expire. A man named May was to purchase the *Democrat*, paying one-third of the price down.

Evidently there was some default on the part of May for soon Storey & Chaney replevined the printing plant. But the disappointed printer evidently rebelled against the mandate of the court, for one night the printing equipment disappeared from the office and it was not discovered until several years later, secreted in several different buildings about the town. Storey & Chaney rushed another stock of printing materials to Mason and by various resorts managed to carry out their contract with the state. While in Jackson Mr. Storey devoted himself to the study of law in his leisure hours for more than two years and in the meantime he accumulated a respectable sum of money.

In 1853 he sold out his drug store and moved to Detroit where he bought the *Detroit Free Press* from Jacob Barns and S. M. Johnson, taking possession on February 3. He immediately enlarged the paper by one column. His savage denunciations of the operators of the "underground railway" which was helping runaway slaves from the South to escape into Canada and of the Abolitionists, who he declared were determined to plunge the nation into civil war, were rather startling. But when he started the first publication of a Sunday newspaper in Detroit on October 2, 1853, he gave the community a real jolt, although Detroit was by no means particular about Sabbath observance. At the same time he discontinued publication of a Monday paper because it had always suffered from a dearth of news. He surrounded himself with an able staff and ruled his employes with an iron discipline.

Storey was a man of extraordinary energy. His ideas of a newspaper were considerably in advance of his time but quite erratic in certain particulars. He was opposed to showing favors to any person because of their wealth, station in life, political affiliations or influence. He believed that an honest newspaper ought to print the news with a conscientious regard for truth and with respect for all the rules of grammar and rhetoric. But he was a man of unhappy temperament who seemed to have a contempt for the human species in general. Human temperaments often trace back to the unwritten and unknown chapters of each individual's life, but little is known concerning the hard conditions of Wilbur F. Storey's youth. From his characteristic tendency toward revolt against all control one may suspect that his boyhood was a period of hard restraints which served to embitter his whole life.

For all other opinions rather than his own, with perhaps the sole exception of those of Gen. Lewis Cass, for whom he had a real admiration, Mr. Storey seemed to have a supreme contempt. The common social conventions and proprieties he despised, as he did the restraints of libel laws which compelled

*Free press
by Storey*

Free Press

him to keep within certain bounds in his personal attacks upon people who incurred his displeasure. It was a day of personal journalism when criticism commonly took the form of personal abuse. As Storey frequently declared to his staff: "The function of a newspaper is to print the news, and raise hell." It may be said that he did considerable of both in his own time. His attitude toward Abolitionists was at first contemptuous, but as the movement gained in power and numbers he became virulent and vituperative. A firebrand political advocate and an adept in the use of a vast vocabulary of vituperation, he commanded the admiration of an unthinking public which enjoyed his savage diatribes as they would have enjoyed a dog-fight or the punishment of a fellow creature at the whipping post, and so Storey had the mob sentiment with him in most cases. In consequence of this following in Jackson in 1850 he had been able to win the election as delegate to the Constitutional Convention in competition with Austin Blair, and had also been appointed an inspector of the state prison.

But Storey had a sort of genius. He made a live newspaper of the *Free Press* and won the admiration of the conservative citizens by his attacks upon the Abolitionists who, for the time, were regarded as sentimental and well-meaning but highly dangerous fanatics. He supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act. When a convention was called at Jackson in 1854 for the organization of a new political party (the Republican) out of the scattered elements of the Whig, Free Soil, Liberty and Abolition parties he denounced the delegates, *en masse* as "a body of unmitigated abolitionists and disunionists." To the momentous proceedings of that Convention he gave only 56 lines of space and published not a word of its historic platform.

As the agitation gradually increased and the strength of the Republican party became more and more apparent, Storey became more bitter and reactionary than before, for it seemed that the new enthusiasm was bound to sweep the country and that Abraham Lincoln would be elected President of the

United States. In Storey's hands the *Free Press* asserted the right of the Southern States to secede from the Union if the Union was to be controlled by an element hostile to their interests. He declared that if the Federal Government, under the fanatics of the Republican party, should attempt to coerce these sovereign states into an unwilling allegiance to a government which they had learned to despise for its hostility to their vital interests, it would encounter a "fire in the rear" that would give it pause.

When the war began, his attacks upon the policies of the government and the military leaders were of characteristic violence. In spite of this attitude he made the *Free Press* a paying property and accumulated a capital of more than \$30,000. Desiring a larger field than Detroit, then a city of 45,000 population, he sold the *Free Press* to Henry N. Walker and F. L. Seitz, went to Chicago and bought the *Chicago Times* in 1861, paying \$21,000 for the property. There he began a new career with a brilliancy and daring that astonished and disconcerted his competitors.

Storey's last issue of the *Free Press* was on June 4, 1861 and at the top of his editorial column he printed his farewell to Detroit in a space of 15 lines and explained that he had left the newspaper in capable hands. Mr. Walker's first issue on the following day contained a column of editorial explanations and intentions, all in a rather modest vein.

During the eight years he lived in Detroit, Storey and his wife boarded most of the time at the Michigan Exchange hotel at the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Shelby Street. Mrs. Storey was a very quiet, inoffensive woman of retiring disposition and made many friends, but she had the sympathy of all her acquaintances, for her talented husband seemed to harbor a perpetual grouch. It was said that nobody ever saw him give her a smile or heard him speak a pleasant word to her. Generally he was silent and morose unless some person managed to draw him into a political discussion. Nobody was in the least surprised when she applied for a divorce and got it.

It must be said to Storey's credit that he made no opposition to her suit and that he provided for her support very liberally.

For many years after Storey had the *Chicago Times* well in hand it was rated as the most enterprising newspaper of the West. Up to that time all the Chicago newspapers had been modeled after the common fashion of country village publications, but Storey adopted metropolitan methods, surrounded himself with able men and spent money lavishly in securing the news. He sent men whom he had schooled to his purpose to act as war correspondents at the front, and the criticisms of the *Times* with respect to the conduct of the war and the blunders of the military commanders and the follies of the war department in Washington, which was attempting to conduct the various campaigns from swivel chairs and roll-top desks, hurt the men, measures and departments under his fire because so much that he charged had enough foundation of fact to make it ring true.

One commander after another bobbed up to the supreme command only to be weighed in the balance of grim experience and be found wanting. McClellan, Pope, Hooker, Meade, Halleck and Burnside had their entrances with blaring trumpets and their exits with muffled drums. In a moment of intense pique Gen. A. E. Burnside ordered the *Chicago Times* suppressed and had armed soldiers stationed at the *Times* office to insure that his order was obeyed. But President Lincoln who was nearly always between the devil and the deep sea and pouring oil on the troubled waters remarked that he thought the Government and the Army would be able to stand up under a little criticism, even of the most unfriendly sort, and if criticism contained an element of truth it might be able to point the way to better achievements. So he quietly smoothed Gen. Burnside's ruffled plumage, removed the bayonets from Mr. Storey's editorial ribs and let nature take its course. Immediately Storey resumed his scalping and flaying knife and proceeded to sprinkle salt in Gen. Burnside's gaping wounds. After the battle of Fredericksburg with its appalling

and senseless slaughter of thousands of brave men who had no chance to win because they lacked skillful maneuvering, Gen. Burnside joined the group of men who had honestly tried and had convincingly failed.

In Storey's time newspaper reports were characterized by sensationalism and a good deal of mawkish sentimentality. Some of the newspapers of the present day show that they are heirs of the past and the "sob sisters" are still with us because there is a considerable market for their wares. Headlines were often hysterical, but instead of an eight-column flare of monstrous type across the top of the page having a big story "continued on page 17" the newspapers of the 1860's and 70's would sometimes devote an entire column to exclamatory headlines in type of moderate size. The execution of a criminal was made as sensational as possible and the murderers, standing on the trap of the scaffold with the noose about their necks, rose to the occasion and the public demand by delivering carefully prepared farewells to this cruel world with its punitive laws.

They commonly announced that they had made peace with their Maker and had been redeemed, forgave everybody and hoped to meet all present in Heaven very soon. Mr. Storey would read such reports scornfully and remark: "If that's the kind of slush the public wants to read, they shall have a-plenty." It was in such a mood that he one day wrote a head for a hanging story in the *Chicago Times* that horrified his readers, for at the top of the column in large, black-faced type he set the searing, horrifying line: "Jerked to Jesus." This and other headlines of a similar nature startled his readers and at the same time excited such curiosity that the sales of the *Chicago Times* steadily increased and its proprietor rose to the rank of millionaire.

Storey seemed to have little faith in anyone and few had much faith in him. He often boasted that he had no friends and that he wanted none, because with friends to support and shelter from publicity he would never be free to "print the

news" without fear or favor. This printing of the news was a sort of ruling passion with Storey,—almost a religion. He felt that he could not keep faith with either the public or himself if he showed mercy or consideration for anybody or anything.

No man of his staff received a word of commendation. They were expected always to do the right thing. But the slightest lapse of vigilance in news gathering, the omission of any essential detail of a story for propriety's sake, a solecism in language or an indulgence in sentimentality would bring from him a glowering look and a torrent of fierce denunciation. No man worked harder or longer hours than Storey. He would sit all day at his desk and far into the night writing on scraps of paper,—he commonly opened up all letter envelopes and wrote many of his editorials on the backs of them. He read proofs of all articles after they had passed through the hands of the printers, and kept the composing room busy with his corrections. Toward all his employes he maintained a gruff and surly attitude, although, when occasions of distress would arise he was generous enough in his grim fashion. His employes admired his courage and envied his success, but they feared his censure and had no love for him or his driving, merciless methods.

During the summer of 1875 his iron endurance began to show signs of breaking down under the constant strain of attending to every detail of publication and for the first time in his career he was induced to appoint a managing editor to relieve him of some of the detail work. The man chosen for this post was Charles R. Dennett who was serving as telegraph editor of the *Times*. Mr. Dennett was a native of Massachusetts who, like Storey himself, was a self-educated man, having been apprenticed to learn the printing trade at the age of twelve in the office of the *Boston Advertiser*. He had drifted westward as a journeyman printer and had worked on the *Cincinnati Commercial* and afterward the *Cincinnati Enquirer* where he had been employed in various capacities in

the editorial room. When J. B. McCullagh went from Cincinnati to take charge of the *Republican* in Chicago he took Dennett with him and Dennett became managing editor when McCullagh went to the *Inter-Ocean*.

The great fire which destroyed the better part of Chicago in October of 1871 also swept away its newspapers and completely changed the current of many lives of Chicago's citizens. Up to that time the spirit of Wilbur F. Storey had seemed indomitable but for a time he was beaten down and utterly discouraged. There was nothing left of the *Times* plant but the crumbling walls of a ruin. After the fire had burned itself out Storey walked painfully through the devastated streets, picking his way over the ruins of fallen walls and charred timbers until he reached the gap which had been the entrance to the *Times* Building. He looked it over in detail, saw the presses and all the equipment buried in the general ruin; looked about him and saw the apparently endless waste which but two days before had been the heart of a great city and then he sat down slowly on the doorsill with his elbows on his knees, bowed his head into his hands and clutched his bristling gray hair in his long bony fingers.

Some of his acquaintances, business men of the neighborhood came along and saw him sitting there, the picture of despair. "It's all over," he moaned. "The *Times* is dead; Chicago is gone and I'm all through. I'm a worn-out, used-up man. I've worked like a slave, built up a great newspaper and now it's all gone up in smoke. Ten years of the hardest drudgery, and it has all come to this," and he swept both arms about him in a wide gesture of hopelessness.

Mr. Storey was at this time only 52 years of age but he regarded himself as a broken-down, friendless old man with life and hope and ambition all behind him and everything turned to dust and ashes.

"But you can start over again," said one of his hopeful business acquaintances. "The name and prestige of the *Times* are a fortune in themselves. Chicago will be rebuilt better than

before. You can rebuild, like all the rest of us and grow up with the new city that will replace the old town."

"No, I shall not attempt to resurrect the *Times*," wailed Storey. "It is utterly destroyed and so is Chicago. The damage to both is too great to be repaired. I am an old man and I can't begin life over again. I can secure from these ruins about \$80,000 and on that I can live comfortably the remainder of my life. If I venture it in starting the *Times* again I shall risk all I have and would probably lose it all."

But gradually the stricken man's courage returned and when it did return the flaming energy of the man flared up again with its accustomed fervor. In the barn back of his residence he had stored the type of a discarded dress of the *Times* which was still available for emergency use. Over on the west side of the city he heard of a cylinder press which had escaped the fire but for which there was no present use. He opened an office at 105 Randolph Street, moved in the press and type and hunted up such printers as were wandering aimlessly about the burned district. Offers of assistance came from several business men. Men who had known him in Jackson and Detroit offered their help and on October 18, 1871, just ten days after the beginning of the great fire the Chicago *Times* appeared on the streets again as an eight column folio.

Soon new quarters were secured, at 42 Adams Street, where new presses and type were installed. By the middle of December the *Times* had resumed its old form and was making money. In 1873, finding his physical and mental powers were weakening, Mr. Storey was induced to engage Charles R. Dennett who had begun work on the *Post* after it had recovered from the fire. He began on the *Times* as telegraph editor and in 1875 was made managing editor. Mr. Dennett proved a valuable and a competent man with a great capacity for work and a genuine instinct for news values. In 1878 Mr. Storey's powers became so impaired that Dennett became the head of the paper.

But Storey had laid the foundations for the success of the *Times*. The day of the strictly partisan newspaper was waning and he saw the signs of the time and made the *Times* an independent organ. He established foreign news bureaus and maintained one in the Balkan peninsula to report the Russo-Turkish war, as well as bureaus in London, Paris, Berlin and other European capitals. The old days were gone when an occasional mob used to gather in front of the *Times* building to denounce the "copperhead organ" for its criticisms of the war for the Union. The editorial room no longer had its closet and brackets on the wall where loaded muskets and hand grenades were kept to defend the institution against mob violence. Lines of hose which were connected with pipes of live steam from the boilers in the basement for the same purpose, were disconnected and stored away. There had never been any occasion for their use and now the war was over and Chicago was too busy with rebuilding the old ground and sprawling out across the prairies in all directions to be easily stirred to acts of violence.

The grim old warrior had burned himself out and was far older than his years. His violent passions and vehement moods and unremitting toil had consumed his vital forces and in 1878 he took the first vacation of his lifetime. He went to Hot Springs, Arkansas, seeking health. When he was somewhat benefited by the rest and change he saw that the *Times* was doing nicely so he went to Europe for a long tour. But while in Switzerland he suffered a severe paralytic stroke and went to Paris to be treated by the celebrated Dr. Brown-Sequard. The great pathologist told him he was a mere cinder of a man; that his case was hopeless and advised him to go home and straighten up his affairs because he was near the end of his journey and his mind would probably go before his vital powers would fail.

Storey refused to believe the verdict but took the advice. He returned to Chicago and failed steadily. In 1884 he was adjudged to be of unsound mind and his affairs were placed

in control of Austin I. Patterson. On October 27, 1884, he died.

Wilbur F. Storey was married three times. His first wife was born Maria Isham and they were married at Jackson. She came to Detroit with him and they lived for a time at the Michigan Exchange Hotel and later at the Biddle House on Jefferson Avenue. When she was free she took her liberal allowance and lived abroad, most of the time in Italy. A short time before the Chicago fire Mr. Storey married Mrs. Harriet Dodge, who died in January, 1873. Storey married a third time under peculiar circumstances. This wife was Mrs. Eureka C. Pierson, who appears to have been shrewd and calculating. At her suggestion and as a condition of the marriage, she had a contract drawn by which she was to have possession of certain property and an annual allowance of \$10,000. Doubtless the lady had heard that the honor of being Mrs. Storey was not to be classed as a perpetual honeymoon so demanded what she regarded as a fair compensation. She did her duty by her husband, having entered upon the bargain, but was not regarded with favor because the conditions of the marriage were generally known.

After Storey's mind began to show impairment he came under the influence of some scheming spiritualists who would have managed to wheedle him out of a part of his fortune but for the intervention of friends. As it was they persuaded him to undertake the building of a great mansion which was to cost more than \$500,000 but he died before it could be completed and it never was finished. The name of Storey lent power and prestige to the *Times* and after his death the newspaper began to dwindle and die. Of the great fortune accumulated during the stormy and laborious life of this successful but unhappy man there soon remained little but scattered records and fading memories.

Although he had little time or inclination toward social life Mr. Storey was one of the founders of the Chicago Club which was organized as a revival of the old Dearborn Club in

1861, with Ezra B. McCagg as president; Philip Wadsworth, vice-president; John J. Jones, secretary; Edward I. Tinkham, treasurer; and the executive committee consisted of Charles B. Farwell, Henry K. Pearson, N. K. Fairbank, George R. Whitman, Wm. J. Barney, Anson Stager, Wilbur F. Storey, Wirt Dexter and John De Koven.

The *Times* building erected after the fire was located at Fifth Avenue and Washington Street and was finished in 1873. Later an addition was built five stories high and 103 feet front.

Mr. Storey advocated a low tariff policy. He advocated the nomination of Judge David Davis for President in 1872 and opposed the election of Horace Greeley. He opposed the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden in 1876 but supported him after the nomination. He opposed the restoration of the silver standard dollar and silver coinage.

The name of Austin Blair is held in honor in Michigan because he was one of the "war governors" who made a record of creditable achievement during a time that tried men's souls and tested their discretion. But it was not all smooth sailing for the governor of Michigan in 1861. Mr. Storey was a pacifist in spite of his editorial pugnacity; one of those inconsistent persons who are determined to have peace if they have to fight for it. He was also a believer in state rights as being superior to federal rights and that the Union was a voluntary federation from which each state was as free to withdraw as it had been to join, whenever it felt that separation would relieve it from the enforcement of any general policy that would be injurious to its own interests. Mr. Storey opposed the war with might and main and was willing to let the "erring sisters go in peace," as Horace Greeley once expressed his view of secession. When the crisis of war came, Mr. Storey favored the policy that would have it over with as quickly as possible, and every delay in the preparation stirred him to wrath. Here is one of his slams at Governor Blair, written April 25, 1861:

Wanted, A Governor!

"But one regiment was required of Michigan and, although companies enough to make up two or three regiments have reported themselves, the regiment is not yet organized while from other states regiment after regiment has marched for the war and others are awaiting orders to move. This tardiness is attributed in all quarters to the utter inefficiency and imbecility of Governor Blair. If it had depended upon his movements a southern army might have been already on the shore of Lake Erie and knocking at the doors of our own city. He had better resign. Thousands of men all over the state are ready and anxious to volunteer for the defense of the flag wherever it may be assailed but they are paralyzed by the inaction in the very quarter where the utmost energy and efficiency should prevail. Let Gov. Blair resign and subside into the obscurity from which he should never have emerged."

In another paragraph Mr. Storey announces the removal of two perfectly competent federal officials of Macomb County at the behest of that fierce patriot Zachariah Chandler. Mr. Storey expresses the belief that Mr. Chandler's frenzy for bloodshed will be confined to the decapitation of hold-over federal officers of the former administration.

When Fort Sumter was bombarded and forced to surrender there was an instant outburst of patriotism all over the north. Up to that moment the national flag had been but sparingly displayed on the buildings and about the streets of Detroit, but suddenly there was a feverish demand for the Stars and Stripes and for a time the supply was inadequate. The post-office hoisted one for the first time in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. The revenue office, collector of the port, the old city hall, the hotels, the stores along Jefferson and Woodward Avenues and hundreds of private homes not only displayed flags but announced the fact in the newspapers. Bands paraded through the streets escorting men and boys carrying flags. The High School over on Miami Avenue hoisted a flag for the first time in its existence. Men doffed their hats for

a day or two when passing the flag and when an impassioned orator would point to the flag in his peroration "strong men wept", men who a month before would have hardly noticed the national banner.

This sudden emotional outburst stirred Mr. Storey to sarcasm. He announced, on April 18, 1861, that the *Free Press* had invested in a nice clean flag and would display it with proper pride.

"We are a great people. Just now we are boiling over with patriotism and enthusiastic admiration of red, white and blue bunting, and clamorous for a fight. If Jeff Davis or somebody else don't put their dirty fingers on our stars and stripes once more pretty soon we'll really become frantic. We don't know exactly what we want to fight for but fight we must and will; and if fight is the word and the old flag is to be made the occasion of the onslaught so let it be. We sink or swim with the colors. This being the present mania there can be no very great exception taken to the general display of the colors and it makes the city look very pretty. Nice new flags are highly ornamental. Ours is bright and clean."

HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTIONS, AT GRAND RAPIDS AND DETROIT

BY IRMA T. JONES

LANSING

THE constitution of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs adopted at organization placed the business of the Federation, other than that specified to be done by the Federation in Convention, in charge of the Board of Managers, and authorized the appointment of five standing committees, of five members each, one of whom must be president of a Club in the Federation, and Chairman of the committee. These standing committees were:

1. A Program or Literary Committee.
2. An Entertainment Committee.

The work of these was to select suitable themes for discussion at the annual meetings and to see that suitable arrangements be made for the reception and entertainment of delegates at the regular meetings.²

3. A Club Organization Committee, to keep a record of clubs and to aid in forming others.
4. A Lecture Course Committee to issue annual bulletins of subjects, authors, etc., for the help of federated clubs.
5. Com. on Household Economics to seek to develop practical interest in this line of work among club women.

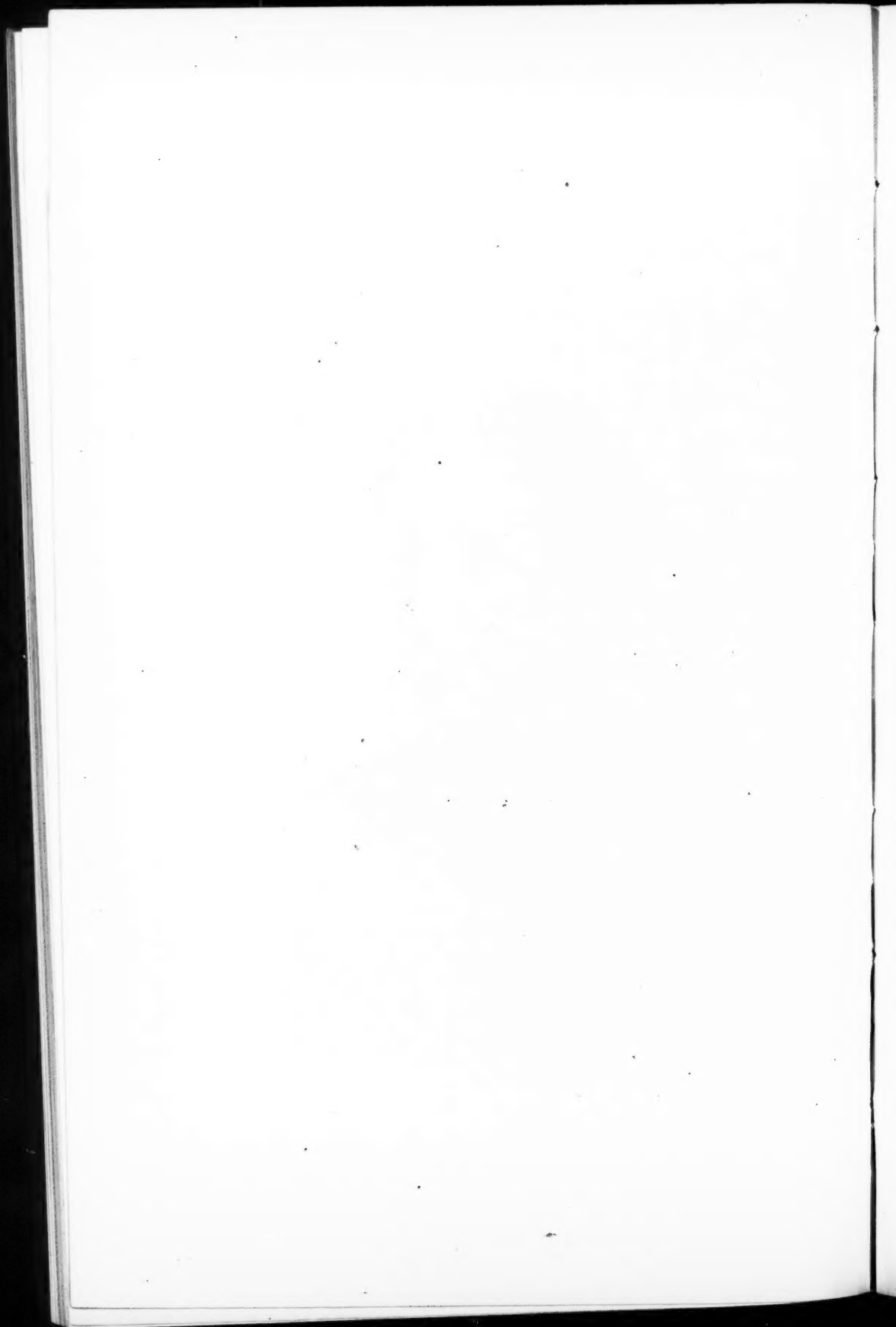
Annual dues were fixed at three dollars, and "Waples' Parliamentary Practice" was adopted as guide to the deliberations of the Federation.

Some pertinent paragraphs are quoted from the address of Miss Clara A. Avery, the first president, delivered at Grand Rapids, November 6, 1895:

²For the first article in this series see the January number, 1926.—Ed.



Irma T. Jones .



Many ask: Why a Federation of Women's Clubs? To this we answer, Is not the most noticeable tendency of our century that which has led to the concentration and amalgamation of individuals into great units that have for their objective aim neither war nor territorial conquest, but the material, industrial, political, intellectual or moral progress of humanity? Think of the numerous international gatherings since 1852—industrial, artistic, scientific, philanthropic and religious. Think of the world expositions large and small. The rapid spread of organizations such as the Red Cross, Salvation Army and Labor Unions. Is there not a purpose greater than any that can be traced to an individual, back of all these manifestations?

One of the noticeable advantages to those women who served on the Board of Managers during the World's Fair, and participated in the actual work of the Congresses and Parliaments was their rapid development in method, tact, and intellectual strength; and this was largely the result of contact with an infinite variety of minds. But those women who advanced did hard work, and fought bravely many a battle both within themselves and without of which we have no knowledge.

Although our own existence as an organization has been brief, and our experiences very limited, some of us already recognize the advantages both of association, and of those unexpected tests of mind and character to which our duties have subjected us; and many of the older and larger clubs must have learned a lesson in meekness and humility from the younger and smaller clubs that have been doing superior work in the very towns we have ignored. It has astonished and delighted us to find how extended is good club work throughout our state, and that there are many evening literary clubs composed of men and women, all doing excellent work.

In nearly all the clubs we know there appears to be much need of more original and less desultory work; and even where the work is really connected there is need of better methods.

It has been especially gratifying to discover throughout our body that progress and duty seem to be the watchwords of the day; and the chief hope, a rapid advance toward unity.

Fortunately, some weaknesses reveal themselves more quickly in large bodies than in small ones, and are remedied by the very experiences which reveal them. This, I believe, is one of the greatest benefits resulting from federation. Those weaknesses of which we are conscious, are first,—lack of knowledge of right business methods; second,—a lack of familiarity with common parliamentary law, as a great time saver, and method-educator; third, lack of training in clear, concise and comprehensive utterance of our thoughts; and last

but not least important the occasional forgetfulness of our one aim, which, if kept always in view would serve to correct the false proportions often assumed by objects when viewed from a wrong standpoint, or seen in wrong perspective.

But co-operation of members in mere work is not all we need; culture is not all we need. What we really want is knowledge of the better things in the human heart, of those sweet and good things in soul which are too often concealed in our homes, as well as such business assemblies as this. Those things should come to light when we meet under circumstances that afford opportunity for free exchange of thought on those subjects dear to every woman as the member of a home, or of this great Commonwealth.

To obtain such opportunities we must have other than annual meetings,—say a mid-summer meeting where a topic or two of general interest might be discussed, and many hours be given to purely social enjoyment. Such meetings as those are quite frequent in the Massachusetts Federation.

In our own state, Bay View has become so popular and attractive to students as well as to pleasure seekers, that it might be desirable to consider a summer meeting for all members in that delightful spot. In such an atmosphere of culture, among the noblest thinkers and most earnest students in our land, mothers, teachers, busy women of all sorts, could quickly escape from themselves, and realize as would be almost impossible in the humdrum of routine work, the relative littleness of the things we allow to burden us, and the immensity of those things we too much banish from the mind.

When the Federation met at Grand Rapids November 5 and 6, 1895, its nominal membership was 63 federated clubs, but one club withdrew, and one failed to qualify by not paying the dues required by the Constitution.

At this first Annual, it was evident that even in five months, valuable work had been accomplished, notably by the Club Organization Committee in spreading the knowledge of federation aims and in enlisting the sympathy and interest of non-federated clubs. The Committee on Household Economics had issued an admirable outline of study to promote that phase of work; this was much sought for by federated clubs, for in those days many club members were indifferent to outside endeavors which they had not yet learned how to undertake.

It had been Mrs. Stone's wish that all provisions of the Constitution be made as simple as possible, to avoid misunderstanding and make for more harmonious action. The constitution adopted at Lansing was modeled after those adopted by two or three other State federations, but it was shown at Grand Rapids that some changes were needed. A committee of revision was appointed, to report at the next annual convention.

The Federation voted at the Grand Rapids convention, to authorize the Board of Managers to become affiliated with the General Federation by payment of the prescribed dues. In December following (1895) the president received a Certificate of Membership of the Michigan State Federation in the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Officers for 1895-1896 elected at Grand Rapids were: President, Mrs. Irma T. Jones, Lansing; Vice-president, Mrs. Anna A. Palmer, Saginaw; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Kate E. Ward, Holly; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Lucy W. Bancker, Jackson; Treasurer, Mrs. Martha E. Root, Bay City; Directors, Mrs. I. M. Turner, Grand Rapids; Mrs. Clara W. Raynor, Adrian; Mrs. S. L. Smith, Detroit; Mrs. Martha A. Keating, Muskegon.

The first meeting of the Board of Managers, held in the parlors of All Souls Church, found the Federation confronted with much pioneer work and some serious problems caused by lack of acquaintance, inexperience in affairs of state-wide interest, and more than all, by limited resources,—plainly lack of money.

However, the members of the Board were women of prophetic insight, faith and broadmindedness. They filled the various standing committees as best they could, in order to distribute work as widely as possible, and thus promote interest in the organization. It was preeminently a time when the wisdom of the undertaking must be justified by tact and thoughtfulness.

They were days of stringent finances. The expenses of organization and of the first Annual must be paid, a third convention to be held in Detroit must be provided for. There

must be noted speakers to attract and hold the loyalty of the clubs. In the first two years more than one officer refused to accept the amount of railroad fare allowed in the By-Laws. It was even whispered in a Board meeting that a generous friend of the Federation had paid the sum needed to bring a prominent Eastern speaker to the Grand Rapids Convention. These details are given to show how Michigan women with faith in their convictions have always risen to an opportunity, and because they may encourage others to a like belief in opportunity. The two or three hundred dollars available to a Board of Managers in those days seem pitifully small, when present-day resources of the Michigan State Federation sometimes reach thousands. Again, printing and stationery bills were unavoidably large. Programs, Constitutions and numberless blanks were required for the judicious inauguration of the work planned.

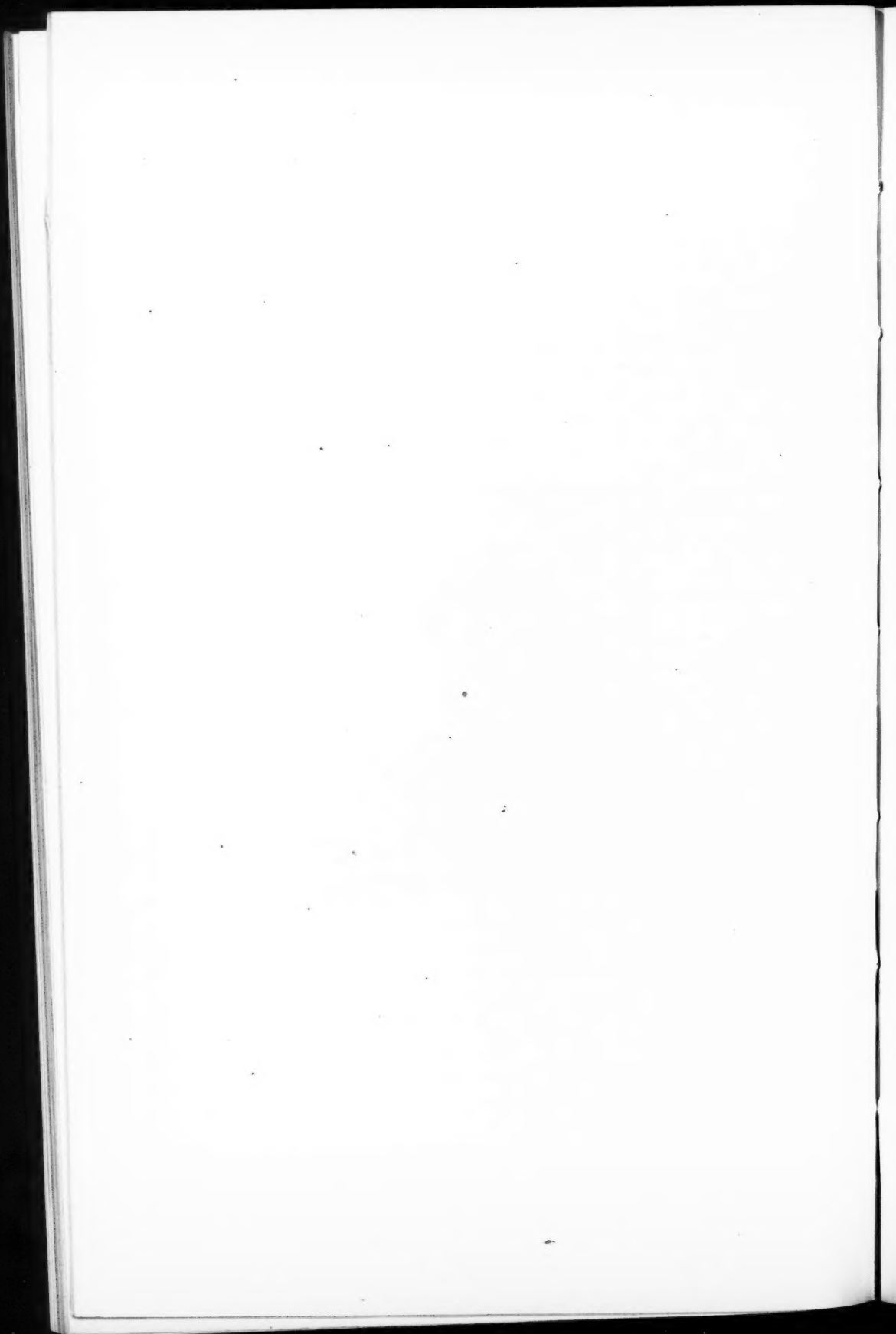
Most club women were in those days unfamiliar with the large demands of State work, comparatively few had a good working knowledge of parliamentary procedure, a few were over-insistent on the strictest letter of the law. But from the beginning, ideals were high, and earnest commonsense and sisterly kindness prevailed among those delegated to the work. Still federation work was no sinecure for officers and directors.

Inexperienced local club officers were slow to perceive the necessity of prompt and business-like methods in correspondence and payment of dues; many were wedded to the belief that only literary affairs should have right of way in a convention of Clubwomen. But there were wise counsellors and earnest, patient, self-denying workers in the ranks and as time passed wisdom grew and courage increased.

The second president found a "Tower of strength" in *The Interchange*,—the official organ of the Michigan Woman's Press Association, so ably edited for years by Mrs. Belle M. Perry and her most worthy helper, Mrs. Eva Belle Giles. Later Mrs. Giles took charge of the work alone for several years,



Kate E. Ward



doing splendid work on *The Interchange* and it was as much a labor of love as anyone ever did for a cause. As a means of communication with federated clubs, hardly appreciated in those earlier years when the monetary income of the State Federation would not permit the sending of bulletins and letters to committees and individual clubs, those white-winged messengers so necessary in the promotion of fellowship, found ready expression on the pages of *The Interchange*.

Recalling the limited financial resources of the State Federation and its urgent needs in pioneer days, it may be affirmed that without *The Interchange* it could hardly have prospered so greatly. Certainly without the unselfish generosity of Mrs. Perry and her co-workers of the Michigan Woman's Press Association it would have taken much longer to gain the commanding results achieved. Nor can the second president ever forget the chagrin of herself and other officers, when because of the low state of finances, *The Interchange* was by motion at a meeting of the Board of Managers, made "the official Organ of the Federation without financial responsibility."

The following words from the Manual of 1901-1902 will explain the reason for that chagrin:

Our official paper "THE INTERCHANGE" affords Michigan Clubs exceptional opportunity for reciprocity and co-operation. The Special Messages sent through this medium from Federation officers and committees should have a stated place on club programs.
* * * * * The small income from the paper did not always pay the expenses of publication. It never did more than that, and it is but just to say that any annual deficit was always promptly paid by the Michigan Woman's Press Association in the spirit of their motto, Mrs. L. H. Stone's own words to them, "Let us as women learn to put down self and work for a cause." In passing it is cause for congratulation that our State Federation now supports "The Bulletin,"—its own official organ,—an irrefutable sign of progress.

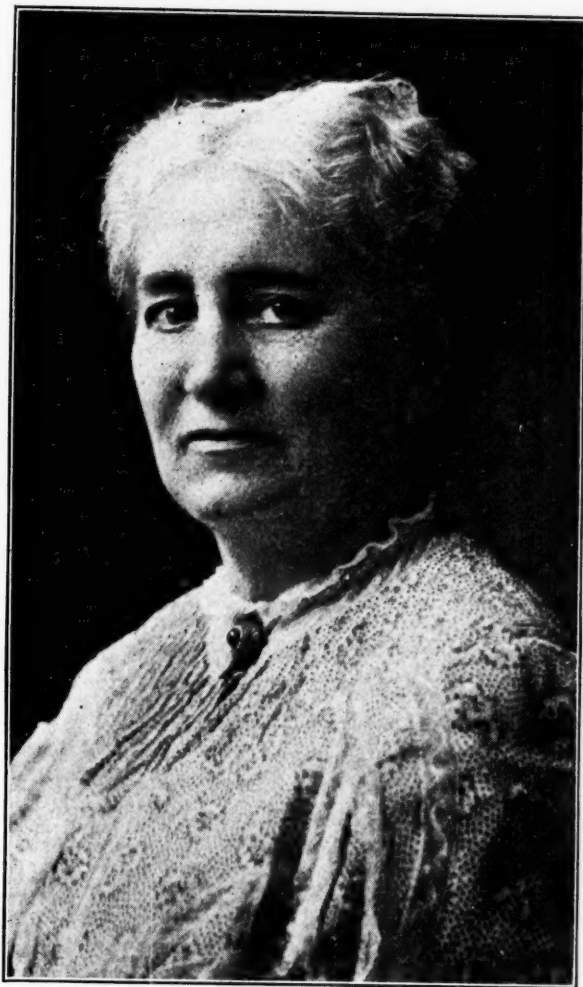
Home Science was a subject of commanding appeal to club women when the Federation was organized, for Society had not outgrown the fear that club-life would rob women of their

home-making instincts. Much effort was therefore directed to strengthen the loyalty and interest of federated clubs by selecting practical home themes for consideration in club effort.

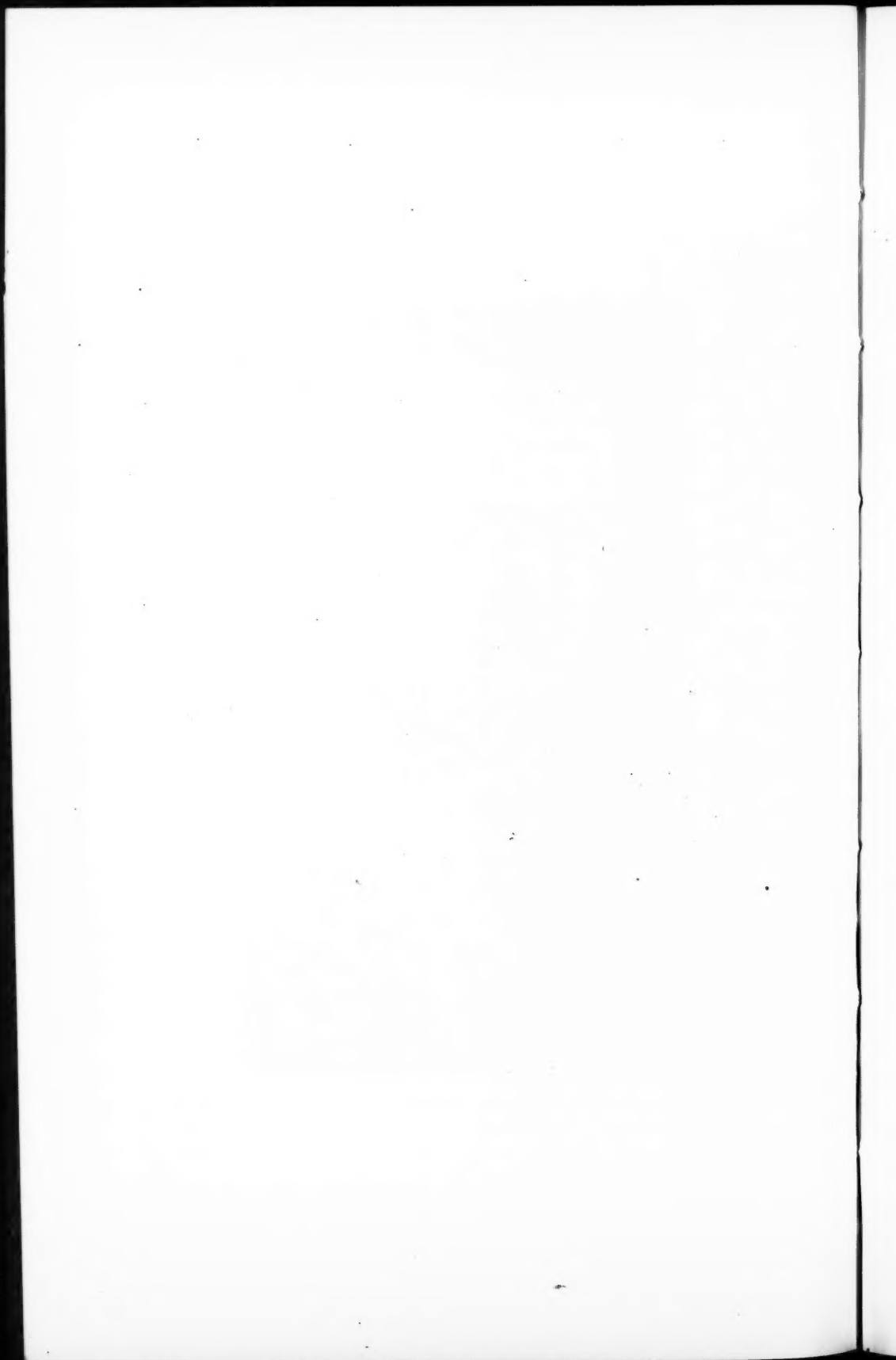
By request of Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, President of the General Federation, the first anniversary of the State Federation, March 20, 1896, was observed as "Peace" Day and all affiliated Michigan clubs were asked to adopt suitable resolutions to indicate woman's wish for "Peace" and arbitration in the settlement of international disputes. Forty clubs sent reports and copies of resolutions adopted, with gratifying accounts of special appropriate programs, patriotic music, etc. The resolutions were forwarded to Mrs. Henrotin to be used in a memorial to the National Society.

The success of this effort led to having a day set apart in many club calendars for the consideration of Federation interests and reciprocity. This incident is noteworthy as the first attempt to bring into action the influence of Michigan federated clubs through unified co-operation.

The Informal Mid-Year conference suggested by Miss Clara Avery our first president, was held at Bay View in the summer of 1896. This successful and enthusiastically enjoyed conference was attended by thirty-eight federated and nine non-federated clubs from Michigan and representative club women were also present from Ohio, Kentucky, New York, Illinois, West Virginia, Kansas and Massachusetts. No Federation business was transacted, the meetings being informal and devoted to the discussion of topics presented in the program. Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz of the Boston Woman's Club, eminent author and philanthropist gave an admirable address on "The Value of Women's Clubs to the Home and the Community." Mrs. Jennie C. Croly President of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs gave an address on "The Organized Work of Women." Mrs. Frances L. Rowland who gave an admirable review of this Mid-Year Conference wrote of the presence of Mrs. Croly at all the sessions:



Martha A. Keating



It was a rare treat for the Club women of our state to come in contact with the rich personality of one who during a long life time had devoted her many talents to the advancement of women. "Some Aspects of Literature in the Home and the Club" was discussed by Mrs. I. N. Turner of the South End Club of Grand Rapids. Mrs. Mary Palmer Reese of Saginaw gave some valuable hints on "How to Study Literature." Mrs. Keating of the Muskegon Woman's Club presented many excellent ideas in a paper on "The Ideal Club Program"; Mrs. S. L. Smith gave a valuable paper on "Department Work for Clubs." Mrs. Smith represented the Twentieth Century Club of Detroit. An informal reception to Mrs. Croly and Mrs. Diaz in Evelyn Hall closed a very busy day.

The Mid-year meeting was an experiment but it proved a signal success, for there were helpful words, warm-hearted fellowship, delightful communion, a better understanding of the aims of Federation and a revived interest in all that goes to make a complete womanhood.

This Conference undoubtedly brought many new clubs into the State Federation. The mid-season Board meeting was held in Lansing, its business sessions at the office of the State Librarian, by invitation of Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, librarian at the State Capitol.

The Annual Convention, November 3, 4, 5, 1896, was held in Detroit by invitation of the City Federation of Clubs. Mrs. M. A. B. Howell chosen by the Grand Rapids Convention to recommend some amendments to the Constitution made a lengthy report at the Convention in Detroit. Adopting or revising constitutions is at best a trying ordeal for club women, though conditions of time and place are wholly favorable. No doubt the careful, painstaking work of this committee gave the Federation a more exact and enduring basis of work, but many of the delegates felt the effort most wearisome and when the work of revision was complete scarcely a quorum remained to hear the music and addresses arranged by the program committee.

Features of interest on the program were: A summarized Report of all Federated Clubs, by Katheryne Cook, President of Hillsdale Woman's Club. Report of the Biennial of the General Federation of

Women's Clubs and of the Midyear conference at Bay View by Vice-president Mrs. Anna A. Palmer. An Address "Organic Education" by Harriet M. Scott, Principal of Normal Training School, Detroit. Wednesday evening the delegates enjoyed a largely attended reception at the Russell House by the Detroit Federation of Clubs. Thursday's program included the following: "Traveling Libraries—Their Value and How to Get the Benefits of Them," by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, of Lansing, State Librarian. Federation Poem by Mrs. M. E. C. Bates, of Traverse City, read by Mrs. Marie Nelson Lee. "The Success and Failure of Our Public Schools,"—Address by Mathilde Coffin, Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools, Detroit. "Practical Value of Federation to the Individual Club"—Address by Mrs. Ellen M. Henriotin, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Thursday Evening,—Address, "Home Science and the Public Schools," by Edith F. McDermott, Professor of Household Science, Michigan Agricultural College. Address, "The New Social Ideal," Mrs. Florence Kelley, State Factory Inspector of Illinois, Hull House, Chicago. The musical part of the program afforded unusual pleasure to the delegates, and greatly relieved the fatigue of long sessions. The Federation had not yet learned a speedy method of electing officers, adopting constitutions, and limiting reports by giving them printed to the delegates.

At the close of this Detroit meeting, when the bills for necessary and unavoidable expenses had been allowed, the Board of Managers faced a deficit, probably because some clubs were behind in payment of dues, and the Federation had had the expenses incident to organization before any income could be provided, practically holding three conventions on the revenue of two. The crisis was met by a number of the officers receipting their bills for railroad fare, and one member of the Board lent the Federation a sum sufficient to pay all bills until dues were collected from the Clubs. These details may seem petty, but they emphasize the faith of our pioneers in State Federation; and when contrasted with the present prosperity of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, they reveal in a striking way how wonderfully the federation has prospered.

Though committees were few, and resources limited, in those foundation-laying years, enthusiasm counted for much and growth was substantial. Club women were beginning to realize the value of federated effort, and a new standing committee on Legislation was appointed at Detroit. A bill before the Michigan Legislature asking for the appointment of women

on Boards of Control of all State Institutions where women and girls are confined, had created wide interest, and was the immediate occasion for this additional committee.

At this convention the hospitality of Detroit Club members was munificent and the convention left a high tide of enthusiasm among the delegates.

All meetings were held in the First Congregational Church, a most commodious and delightful place for such a gathering. The prevailing spirit of the membership of those days is reflected in the following lines quoted from the president's address:—

Without advising the transformation of women's clubs into charity guilds, permit me to plead for a well-unified form of endeavor, for a broad catholicity able to sift the wheat of life from its chaff, that counts no labor great, no sacrifice a cross, where humanity suffers; that works as well as thinks; that loves as well as studies; and which forever enriches life, club-life with dignity so sweet and gracious, so Christlike, that it need fear no doubting multitude. To such an exalted privilege is our Federation called; its true mission to strengthen, to unite, to enthuse the women of a great commonwealth.

So let us labor, wait and pray;

God's day dawns soon,

Our part,—with still unwearied might,

To hasten its glad light.

IRMA T. JONES,

Second president, M. S. F. W. C.

MISS RUTH HOPPIN, EDUCATOR

BY SUE IMOGENE SILLIMAN

Vice Chairman National Committee of Historical Research and
Preservation of Records

THREE RIVERS

Picture book
TO picture the events in the life of Miss Ruth Hoppin, one of Michigan's ablest educators, is to follow for more than fifty years the evolution of education in Michigan, beginning with the meagerly equipped pioneer schools of the thirties and following up through the development of the village schools, the state normal, the college and the university, as the new spirit of education permeated the State through the powerful influence of great personalities who dominated Michigan's early educational system.

From Oberlin's record of Miss Hoppin we quote the following:¹ "Miss Ruth Hoppin² was the daughter of Samuel and Rebecca Hoppin, born in Chautauqua County, N. Y., December 17, 1833. In 1836 with her father's family she came to Michigan locating in Kalamazoo County, at Prairie Ronde, in a year or so moving to Park Township, St. Joseph County. At the age of fifteen she accompanied a relative back to New York for better educational advantages and in 1849 she came to Oberlin where she studied, going out to teach during vacations and so earning money to continue her course. She was graduated in 1856. The following year she taught in a young ladies' seminary in Jerseyville, Illinois, and in 1858 became preceptress of the high school at Three Rivers, Michigan.³

¹Data obtained through the courtesy of Azariah Root, Librarian.

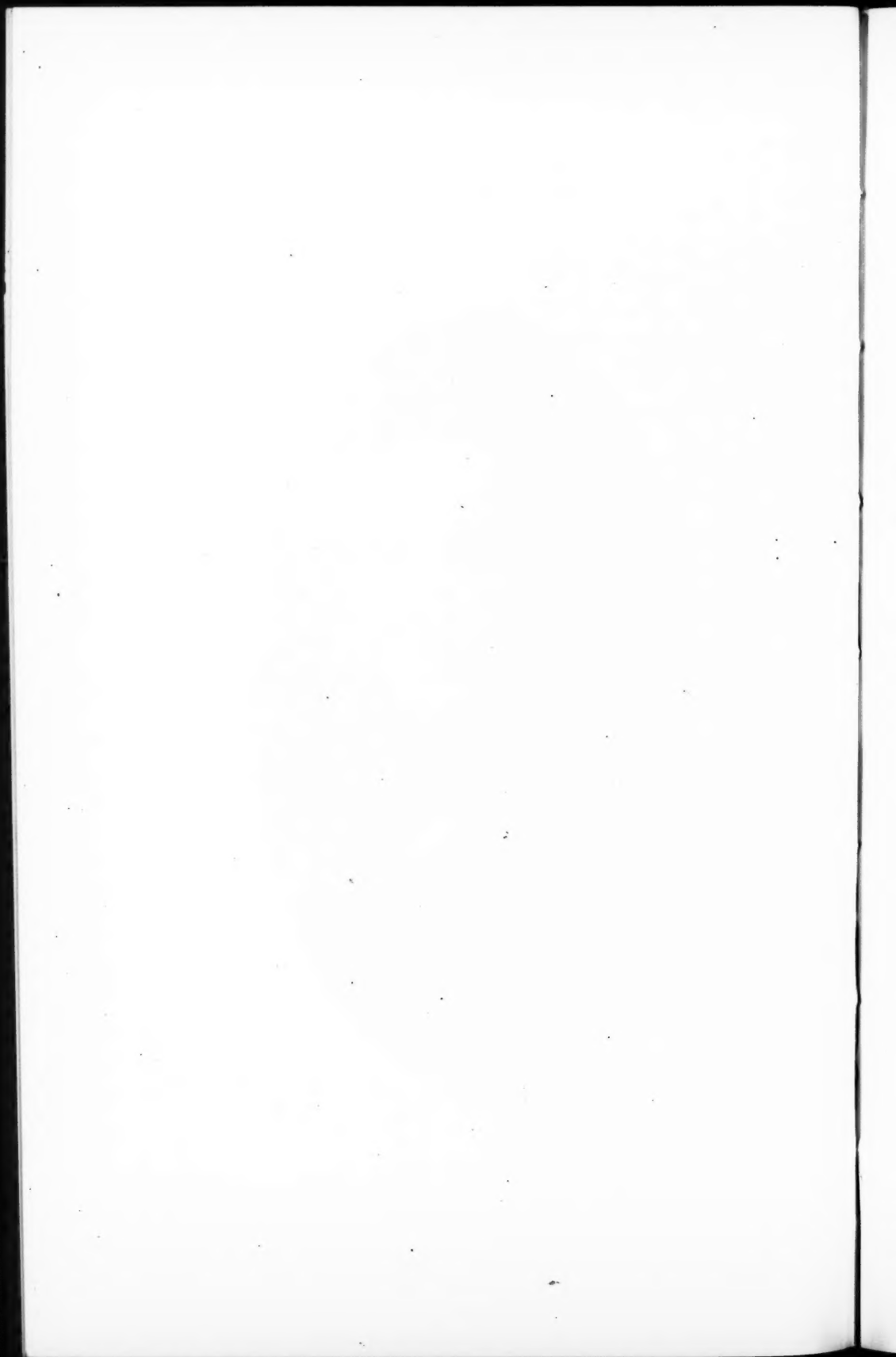
²Ruth Hoppin was descended from Revolutionary ancestry—Samuel Hoppin, b. 1789, was son of Samuel Hoppin, b. 1753, d. 1800. Samuel Hoppin, (Sr.) was the son of Gideon and Mereb Hoppin. Samuel Hoppin (1755-1800) m. 1781, Elizabeth, dau. of Thaddeus Curtis. Samuel Hoppin served in the Revolution as private in Capt. Aaron Coe's Co. under Col. Timothy Robinson in detachment of Hampshire militia. Served at Ticonderoga.

Thaddeus Curtis was a private in Capt. Sam'l. Thall's Co.; enlisted Aug. 21, 1781; discharged 11/9/1781—included service under Col. Marenus Willet "on Mohawk river." He also served in Capt. Benj. Barnes Co. Col. David Moseley's (Hampshire Co.) regiment; enlisted June 12, 1782, discharged 6/12/1782 to quell mob at Northampton 6/12 and 6/16/1782. *Mass. Soldiers and Sailors.*

³A letter written by Miss Hoppin from Stratford-on-Avon realistically describing Shakespeare's home was presented to the Three Rivers Public Library for its historical collection by Mrs. H. P. Barrows, pres. of the Ruth Hoppin Class.



Ruth Hoppin



Later she was for three years a teacher at Ann Arbor high school and from 1867 to 1881 she was preceptress at the Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti. She was then called by Smith College to the chair of Botany and Biology where she taught until given leave of absence on account of ill health (1881-1884). She spent several years in Missouri and Texas, part of the time as collector for the Harvard Museum. Later she traveled in Europe and on the Continent. In 1890 Miss Hoppin returned to the University of Michigan where she was given the degree of A. M. on examination in 1891. She taught literature at the University of North Dakota, but because of ill health she was forced to give up this work, whereupon she returned to Three Rivers and took private classes in history and literature. Besides being an active worker in the Presbyterian Church she did a most valuable work for the clubs of southwestern Michigan."

Concerning her childhood in early Michigan, Miss Hoppin in a paper read before the St. Joseph County Pioneer Association⁴ pictured pioneer scenes of the early thirties:—"I was but three years old when my parents came to Michigan in 1836. Our house was near the Buckhorn Tavern, which was then an important building. Its sign was a deer's horn fastened to the top of a tamarack pole. This buckhorn named the inn, the neighborhood, and the road leading to Three Rivers from Prairie Ronde. The immigrant heard of the 'Buckhorn' hundreds of miles away. The inn was representative of the stopping places of pioneer times; a two story frame house by the side of a well worn sandy road; two large front rooms—the one outside door led to the bar room; destitute of paint and plaster the partitions were pieced out with bed-quilts and blankets. The bar room, which was also the sitting room, had little furniture other than the splint bottomed chairs, but the great brick fireplace with its log fire did much to render the room cheerful. The other front room contained many beds and when these were filled the immigrant might

⁴Published in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 410-417.

take from his covered wagon his own beds and spread them on the floor. A third room with huge fireplace was the kitchen and dining room. Long after pioneer times the old house stood unfinished and forlorn, a sort of monument to a brief period in our State when land speculation ran wild and all the world was coming to Michigan.

"Park Township, St. Joseph County, was settled later than the surrounding country because of the Indian reservation there, so we repeated our pioneer experiences when father went there to live. We settled in the woods."

Miss Hoppin tells of the wild life around them, of the fruit and vegetables of garden and field,—especially of the "golden pumpkins which were dried, made into pies, sauces, butter, and a toothsome bread known as pumpkin johnnycake, all cooked by the open fireplace; bread and pies in the old-fashioned bake kettle or tin baker—for not until the forties did cook stoves become common."

Concerning the music of her childhood Miss Hoppin writes:—"Musical instruments were few, the fiddle the most common. Some had accordions but few could play them. We had much singing of songs, mostly English ballads and Scotch airs. The songs of Burns were as familiar to us as to the Scotchman in his native land. A few of the American compositions were popular, such as 'O, Doubly Mournful is the Fate,' and 'James Bird, ^{the} The White Pilgrim.'" Of the tunes and hymns of the day Miss Hoppin says: "If sung at funerals, the songs seemed purposely designed to make the bereaved ones sadder. 'China' was the favored hymn, and he was the most eloquent preacher who made his mourners cry the hardest."

"The old-fashioned winter evening visits brought to your door at sunset a large wagon-load of men, women, and children. They remained until towards morning; a hearty meal was served towards midnight. The time was filled with singing and stories. Ghost stories were most popular, but war stories had a part. There were still living not a few men who had seen Washington and Wayne, who like my father had

fought in the war of 1812. We were told how Perry's heroes looked as they marched through western New York to reach the squadron being built on Lake Erie. We heard the story of the men who fought at Tippecanoe or escaped the massacre at Frenchtown."

In such surroundings Miss Hoppin spent her childhood, but before leaving this period of her life a tribute should be paid her pioneer mother, of Scotch and English descent, a woman of remarkable personality, who was sent for far and near to nurse the sick and minister to those in trouble. Rich in human sympathy and helpfulness are the stories of "Mother Hoppin" told by the old Park neighborhood.

Miss Hoppin began her life as a teacher in the little country school of Park Township and many are the tales still told of her ability as a teacher and disciplinarian. An old "rate bill" in the Stoufer-Silliman collection⁵ gives a glimpse of the financial resources of the tiny country school in Park when in 1849 the children of twelve families were taught through the summer term and the teacher, besides her "experience," received a total of six dollars and seventy-five cents for the entire term. The old rate bill indirectly reveals something of Miss Hoppin's frugality, something of her splendid courage, when we note the Oberlin record that "by teaching during vacation she earned her own way through college." She was graduated from Oberlin in a "print" dress of her own making.

After she was graduated from Oberlin and had taught a year in an Illinois seminary, Miss Hoppin became preceptress of the Three Rivers Union Schools of which William H. Payne⁶

⁵William Stoufer and family came to Michigan in 1846; Alexander Silliman's family came in 1847,—both families locating in Park Township. Copies of their old letters etc. are on file in the historical collection of the Public Library, Three Rivers.

⁶William H. Payne (1836-1907) was born at Farmington, N. Y. He began teaching in New York public schools; was principal of Three Rivers schools (1858-1864); superintendent Niles schools (1864-1866); principal Union schools, Ypsilanti (1866-1869); superintendent Adrian schools (1869-1879). As school superintendent he was distinguished by untiring efforts to train the teachers under his charge. In 1879 he was called to the newly organized chair of science and art of teaching at the University of Michigan, one of the earliest permanent university professorships of education. In 1888-1901 he was president of the Peabody University at Nashville. On the death of B. A. Hinsdale Professor Payne returned to the University of Michigan. His writings include chapters on School Supervision, Outlines of Educational Doctrine and Contributions to the Science of Education. Professor Payne translated the writings of Gabriel Compayre. He was for four years editor of the *Michigan Schoolmaster* (1866-1870).

was principal,—the same who later organized and first filled the chair of "The Science and the Art of Teaching" at the University of Michigan. In a recent letter Miss G. M. Walton, Librarian of the Michigan State Normal College writes: "May I suggest that Miss Hoppin's close acquaintance and work with William H. Payne who was one of our great American educators must have given her a feeling for our great educational problems which few women of her time—or even later—possessed."

In "Some Souvenirs of My Professional Life"⁷ by Professor Payne, there is a delightful description of a typical village school of the period and also of a teachers' institute, which at that time was first being used effectively in Michigan by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, John M. Gregory. Mr. Payne writes: "In the early summer of 1858 I was elected principal of the Three Rivers school with my wife as my assistant at a joint salary of seven hundred dollars. We trundled our way into the pleasant village by the stage coach from Kalamazoo. As we entered the town the most conspicuous sight was a narrow two-story brick building which we easily guessed to be the scene of our professional labors and from the array of tubs, buckets, mops and brooms in front of the house, we drew the further inference that the beginning of our labors was near at hand.

"Every life has its golden age. The period of which I write was mine. It was the beginning of my professional career. In the State at large a new spirit was abroad. The University was calling young men to the higher intellectual life. By a process of gradual descent the lower schools caught the wholesome infection, and there followed the transformation of private schools and academies into public schools of the high school or secondary type. The public school system was in process of formation, a living organism with brain, central ganglia and minute nerve cells." Of the development of the little school of two departments Professor Payne further says,

⁷Read at the Home Coming Celebration, Three Rivers, June 10, 1910.

"It gave me one of the opportunities of my life, that of learning by actual need and experience the art of grading a public school."

To awaken a local interest in education Mr. Payne invited John M. Gregory, then recently elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction to conduct a teachers' institute at Three Rivers. With Mr. Gregory came Professors Olney, of Kalamazoo and Sill and Welch of Ypsilanti. Delightfully humorous is Mr. Payne's description of the three hours ride from White Pigeon as he and his guests drove along the deeply rutted road where at intervals great forest trees had fallen, and most delightful his characterizations and tributes to these early educators. Of the institute work, in which Miss Hoppin had a prominent part, Professor Payne summarizes: "Better than all is the communication of a new spirit that creates a noble passion for better things in what may be called intellectual conversion. The best effect of the institute is left on the people by creating an atmosphere favorable to the creation of a good school."

In the old newspapers of 1858-1865 there are many articles by Miss Hoppin. In the issue of the *Western Chronicle* for May 21, 1858, is published Miss Hoppin's address before the teachers' institute in which she pleaded for apparatus for explaining and illustrating what she would teach. She decried the naked walls and pleaded for slates and blackboards, for map and picture making, and valiantly flew in the face of Providence by denouncing the ferule and the fear-inducing methods of an educational period which compelled children to swallow with fear-driven speed whole chapters which they could not understand. At this time Miss Hoppin adopted many homespun or as she termed them, school spun methods. The story goes that having no "orery" she placed a redheaded boy revolving in the middle of the room as a center of light and heat and then set a sufficient number of smaller boys running around him to represent the annual motion of the planets.

A *News Reporter* item of 1865 says, "Miss Hoppin, our former most acceptable teacher, is to return next term as preceptress after an interim of three years as a successful teacher at Ann Arbor, where she attained success most unusual."

It is during this period that Miss Hoppin became identified with the prohibition movement. As a child her wildest fear had been of drunken Indians from the reservation,—a fear intensified by the brutal murder in their neighborhood of an intoxicated white man by an intoxicated Indian to whom the white man had given liquor. Miss Hoppin's pleas for prohibition, sometimes in metrical form, were published by many of the Michigan newspapers of the day.

Of Miss Hoppin as a preceptress of the Michigan State Normal at Ypsilanti, Mrs. Eliza Trump Reed, one of her former pupils writes: "From Three Rivers Miss Hoppin became preceptress" of the Michigan State Normal at Ypsilanti, also instructor in History and Botany. During this period she was more student than ever. In the summers she tramped the meadows and woods from the southern border to Lake Superior adding much to the knowledge of the flora of the state. Several summers were spent at Harvard and in the study of eastern flora—especially sea-weed and aquatic plants. She was placed on the list of contributors to the Museum of Natural Science at Harvard.

"Miss Hoppin's work at the Normal was greater than that of a mere instructor. By slow painstaking progress she made for herself the reputation of being the finest botanist in Michigan and a distinguished teacher of history.

"Miss Hoppin remained fourteen years at the Michigan State Normal and then accepted the chair of Botany and Biology at Smith College (1881) where she remained until ill health compelled her to go south. Here in rubber boots she

^aFrom a paper prepared for the "Ruth Hoppin Class," Three Rivers, a literary society organized by Mrs. Henry P. Barrows to perpetuate the memory of Ruth Hoppin.

^bSee also Putnam's *History of the State Normal College*.

continued her study of plants, exploring caves, studying plants and lower forms of life."

She spent one year in the scientific laboratory at Anisquam. As a collector for Harvard university she discovered odd specimens of fish which were sent to the Agassiz Museum of Natural History at Cambridge. One species of fish was named for her—"Hoppini." Miss Hoppin was also a reporter to the Smithsonian Institute at Washington.

Eye strain induced by mycrosopic botany necessitated specializing in another subject of her profession, so she returned to the University of Michigan and in her sixtieth year received her Master's degree in regular work. Though the degree had been offered her as an honorary degree for her research and contributions to science she had replied: "No, I shall write my thesis and take my A. M. in the regular way."

Miss Hoppin spent a year as head of the department of literature in the University of Dakota but the climate was too severe and she returned to Three Rivers where though eventually blind she continued to teach private classes until her death in 1903.

The *History of the Michigan State Normal School* pays the following tribute to Miss Hoppin: "As a student in her own special department both in her early life and in her advanced years, Miss Hoppin had few equals and no superiors. Having chosen teaching as her vocation she sought to magnify her office. She taught, not merely because it was her duty and her business to teach, but because it was a pleasure to teach, and especially a pleasure to watch the unfolding intellectual abilities, not alone that students might know, but that the moral and religious powers might be aroused and excited to activity. She believed in the development of the whole being; she believed in helping the pupil to look beyond and above the materialism with which we are all more or less surrounded; and in which the young especially are very likely to become involved. She sought earnestly to make her own life an example and pattern for the young men and women whom she taught."

From her former pupils who have passed the four score years and ten down the long list of names through those of her private pupils of 1902, the name of Ruth Hoppin with her title of "Teacher" brings sincere tributes to her earnestness, genuineness, sympathy, undaunted courage, for her remarkable memory, for her words of wisdom as she eagerly pressed onward in her own quest for knowledge through fifty years of mental training and character building in the schools of Michigan.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF PIONEER DAYS

A paper read by Miss Ruth Hoppin at the Meeting of the Pioneer Society,
at Centerville, June 14, 1893

Twenty-five years ago when pioneer meetings were a rare thing, little did we, who were but infants when the country was first settled, dream that it would ever come our turn to give personal recollections of log cabin times and forest days.

"Silently passing one by one," the first emigrants to our country have disappeared from the scene, so the story of those rough but wholesome times can no longer be heard from the real heroes, but you must hear it from their children.

I have been asked by your secretary to give personal recollections. The most interesting pioneer experiences were past before I was old enough to have any personal recollections, for I was but three years old when my father moved to this state in 1836. Many things which are distinct recollections would have been forgotten had they not been told over many times by parents and elder brothers and sisters.

Our first sojourn was in the northern part of the county in the Edwin H. Lothrop neighborhood. Our house was near the Buckhorn tavern, which last was owned by Mr. Beebe. After his death the place was purchased by Dr. Parsons, who occupied the old inn as a private residence for a while, but who, later, built the house now standing on the old site. There a sort of village had been started. There were nearly a dozen houses within half a mile of each other. The spring run had been dammed and buildings erected for a tannery and a carding mill. Too late, it was found that the stream did not afford sufficient water power. The tannery later became a distillery and the carding mill a dwelling house.

The tavern then was the important building. The rush of emigration made it profitable to its owner. Its sign was a Deer's horn fastened to the top of an upright tamarack pole. This buck horn named the inn, the neighborhood and the road running from Prairie Ronde to Three Rivers. The emigrant heard of the Buckhorn hundreds of miles away. The inn was a good representative of the stopping places of pioneer times, a two story frame house by the side of the well-worn sandy road. The one outside door led to the bar-room. The house was destitute of paint and plaster. Bed quilts and blankets helped to piece out the partitions where the rough boards and studding failed. The bar-room, which was also the sitting-room, had little furniture, splint-bottomed chairs and the bar with its sparkling bottles and glasses being the principal. The great brick fire place with its log fire, did much to render the room cheerful and comfortable. These great fires were needed to keep out even autumn cold, for the building was a shell, merely clapboarded. The other front room contained many beds. These being filled, the emigrant might take from his covered wagon his own beds and spread them on the floor. Running back, was another great room with a huge fire place. This room was both kitchen and dining-room.

Such houses as the Buckhorn were a day's journey apart, so the movers came at night, went on in the morning, and were not often there during the day.

Long after pioneer times the old house stood there, unfinished, forlorn, a sort of monument to a brief period in our state, when the land speculation ran wild, and all the world was coming to Michigan; then the rush quitted this road and went by other routes to states further west. What had promised to be a village was left without an inhabitant, save the one family which occupied the old inn. But before the place became quite forsaken the distillery had its day.

What could a child of five years remember about a distillery? Well, I recall impressions received from my parents who detested the whole thing. I recall the pig pens with their squeals and their odors. I remember seeing some of the employees and other low characters who will be hangers on at such places, and I had good reason to remember the Indians who so frequently passed our door on their way between the reservation in Park and the baleful place, where they went for fire-water. A paper could be filled with the story of dread and frights caused by our Indian neighbors. Drunken Indians often called at our house, asking for food; for they were always hungry, wanting to rest, and sometimes wanting to fight. One of the latter proclivity, my father picked up on the trail one bitter cold night and brought him on his load of wood to our house. The savage came into the living-

room with his whiskey jug, his gun and his dog. He drove the children away from the fire; he insisted on pulling fingers with my fourteen-year-old brother who had a felon on his right hand, and he wanted to pull the sore finger. My mother, seeing that the whiskey jug would make him no better, slipped that article out of doors and emptied its contents into the snow; the gun, too, was put where he could not get it. The dog, he called back to the best place as often as it was driven from the fireside. He was eager to fight, so the older members of the family who sat up with him had a night of it; but managed to avoid any serious encounter. They got him sober, mended his gun, fed him and his dog, and by sunrise started him toward the reservation, happy and singing. I have a vivid recollection of how glad we little ones were, when, on coming down to breakfast, we found the terror gone. I say terror, for not a month before, a neighbor, Mr. Weasner, had been killed at his own fireside by an Indian. Had Mr. Weasner, like my father, been a temperate man, the tragedy would not have occurred. The Indian owed Mr. Weasner a grudge, but only manifested the spirit of revenge when under the influence of liquor. This time he got his victim "to drink too much" and the result was death to the white man.

I shall never forget the outcry of voices, when that brave 15-year-old lad, James Weasner, roused us with the cry, "Help! Help! the Indian has killed my father and I left him trying to kill the rest of the family." Then there was the hurry of dressing, harnessing and driving rapidly away to save the endangered wife and little ones. How relieved we felt when at daylight a horseman returned with the word that no others had been killed, although some had been badly hurt. My father and brother did the last duties in dressing the murdered man for the grave. A day later the remains were brought to our house where the funeral was held. No wonder such history made cowards of children. Ever after I experienced a terror in hearing or reading of Indian atrocities, which I attribute to this early fright. I was well grown before I ceased to have frightful dreams of being pursued, caught and even scalped by Indians. When, a year or two later, the tribe was moved to the Indian territory, though my parents believed that in this deportation a great wrong was done the red man, yet, I, selfish child, was very thankful to have them go. No more would I have to meet them on my way to school. How often on such occasions have I run like a frightened deer into the woods or fields. Once, it was my mother coming to meet me, but I knew neither her person nor her voice. A drunken Indian had passed that way one hour before, and I saw in every stump and bush a savage. When these people came to our house, the first thing they asked for was

whiskey, next they always asked for bread, flour and salt pork. This latter they liked cut in half-inch thickness and laid raw between two thick slices of bread. This they would bite through as easily as we could through the bread alone. It seemed wonderful to us children that they always refused pie, my mother's good berry or pumpkin pie. They brought us in return, berries in baskets or mocoes, also mocoes of maple sugar. More often they brought fish and venison. Once they brought us young turkeys. The mocoe was a round box like a band box, but made of bark sewed together with a thread of bark or twigs.

We had a chance to see how they treated the boy, so that when he grew up he became the straight, finely formed man. I have seen the baby lashed to a straight board, tied down from head to heel. We thought the papooses were pretty and their mother, too, seemed so happy when the whites admired their little ones. The Indian woman was a devoted mother and patiently carried her child on her back no matter how long or difficult the way. I remember a family coming through the trackless snow a foot deep. The long-legged, strong father had nothing to carry, the short, dumpy mother had her baby strapped to her back, over her own head as well as over that of the papoose, her blanket was drawn. When they entered the house she was pretty well tired out, her lord was not tired in the least. But it was not all selfishness that caused the red man to refuse to carry such burdens. It was his duty as warrior and hunter, to keep himself straight. If there were horses, the squaws always rode, when not enough ponies to go round, it was the men who walked.

These people loved their own and sincerely mourned their dead. I have known them to go long distances to lay their friends in some favored Indian burying ground. It is a shame that the whites have not preserved some of these aboriginal cemeteries which today we would deem interesting memorials of a perished race.

There are those here today who recall the interesting character of the squaw whose husband killed Mr. Weasner. She was pure Indian, and her virtues were of savage origin and native growth, as she had not been instructed by civilized people. The devotion to her husband could not be excelled, her efforts to keep him from committing the crime ought to have saved the life of the victim. She did all she could to warn the endangered man, and when the Indian sprang upon him, fought for the enemy of her race. Not till she saw that the Indian was likely to be killed, did she cease to help Mr. Weasner; but with true wifely instinct, when she saw that one of the two must die, determined that that one should not be her husband.

In the trial at Kalamazoo much sympathy was shown her, and many thought that in this sad affair this uninstructed sister from the wigwam experienced the keenest sorrow and was the truest mourner.

A story had gone out that the Indian had killed the papoose. She felt that such a report would lessen his chances in the trial, and she took great pains to dispute the story. This she did by removing her baby from under the blanket on her back and showing it to the white people as she passed. Mr. Lothrop, who was taking her in his cutter to the trial, was quite patient in the detentions caused by these frequent exhibitions of the papoose. The story of the Indian killing his own child was not without foundation, for a boy had mysteriously disappeared from the family two or three years before. The whites suspected foul play, but the disappearance was never investigated. It all came out at the time of the Weasner murder. That morning, when his captors brought the Indian, bound, down in the sleigh to the cabin where his victim lay dead, my mother went out to the sleigh to see him. His face was badly mangled; for they had a desperate fight in capturing him; he did not mean to be taken alive for he believed that they would, as the squaw told him, burn him alive. My mother bound up his wounds and tried to alleviate his sufferings. Seeing her kindness he said, "Good squaw, good squaw, you tell white man to kill me quick; no burn me, but kill me quick." She tried to make him understand that he would not be tortured but would have a fair trial. But she could not convince him; then he tried to anger her, so, if possible, she would, through vengeance, set the men on to kill him quick. He said, "Me very bad Indian, you kill me quick, me very bad, me kill papoose, put him under ice, in swamp."

What became of his wife we never knew, probably she went with the rest of the tribe to their lands beyond the Mississippi.

The Indian, after a fair trial, was condemned to be hung, but the sentence was delayed on account of the law pending in our legislature at Detroit. That law abolished capital punishment, and our Indian was the first to receive the sentence for life imprisonment. He lived but four years. He was quite heart broken and docile, and became a sincere Christian.

What pioneer does not recall the Buckhorn road as it wound through the forest from Three Rivers to Prairie Ronde? When my father came to Michigan, the only houses on this road were those of Joseph Sterling, Grant Brown, Abram Schoomaker and Reuben Bristol, now the Woodard place. Around each of these houses were a few acres of clearing, all the rest of the way was one unbroken forest. The pole bridge on this road which crossed the great marsh just below the outlet of Goose Lake, was another land mark known all over the

country. The Indian trail from the Marantette agency at Nottawassippi struck the main road just below the pole bridge. This trail passed over the Kellogg farm in Park and crossed the Portage by the white man's bridge about a mile below the Portage lake. The trail was in places a foot deep and packed so hard that it was years before anything would grow in it. Years after the red man had left the country, this trail could be traced in my sister's door-yard. The earliest pioneer found Michigan healthy, but later so much ground was plowed up and the malarial gases set free, that the country became very sickly. Our family came at the worst time. My father shook with the ague every day for 18 months, there were ten all down at once, my mother the only one able to administer the cup of cold water and care for the sick.

Crops went back into the ground, animals suffered for food, and if the people had not been too sick to need much food, they, too, must have gone hungry. The pale, sallow bloated faces of that period were the rule, there were no healthy faces except of persons just arrived. The doctor came with a free good will and portioned out his calomel, he came every day, he purged, he bled, he blistered, he pucked, he salivated his patient, he never cured him. He forbade the nurse to give the patient any water or milk. The doctor's bill was something that no sane physician would present today, not so much for a single visit, but the visits seemed endless.

The subject of sickness brings us to that of death and the grave. How many pioneers lie sleeping in nameless graves we shall never know, for too often the avaricious land owner in a few years plowed over the few acres where rested the strangers. Even in the good town of Three Rivers a row of thick set houses are standing over one of these early cemeteries, whence the bodies had never been removed. There were no headstones, only planks. These soon rotted, and the sleepers beneath passed into oblivion, their friends dead, gone away, or worse, indifferent. The funerals of forty years ago everybody attended. The neighbors were sympathetic and helpful; there was no expense for the plank coffin made by the nearest joiner and the white cambric shroud, which was the burial robe of men and women alike. Mourning was put on by women, even if it were nothing but a bit of black ribbon on a white straw bonnet. There were no flowers and no hearse, no undertaker. The body was carried in a common lumber wagon, the bearers riding in the same vehicle. The coffin was lowered into the grave by means of lines taken from the horses. All remained till the grave was filled up, the head and foot plank set in place, and the mound had been rounded and smoothed into its suggestive shape. Then it seemed that all had been done by kind friends, for each neighbor had taken a part in these duties.

Now, we turn away from the open grave and leave this work to the hireling. The tunes and the hymns sung at funerals seemed purposely designed to make the bereaved ones sadder. There was little hope or consolation in either. Who of us elder ones do not remember "China" sung at all the pioneer funerals? The sermon, too, seemed to arouse, not to allay sorrow. He was the eloquent preacher who made the mourners cry the hardest. People worshiped in school houses and private dwellings. So far as I know in 1836 the only church edifice anywhere in the country was the Liberty pole church near Harrison's on the north end of Prairie Ronde. There was not one in Schoolcraft, in Three Rivers and I think not in Centerville.

Park was settled later than the surrounding country because of the Indian reservation there, so we repeated our pioneer experience when my father went to live there. We settled in the woods, saw herds of wild deer and flocks of wild turkeys, our neighbors were visited by bears; my sister saw a bear near the lonely road as she was coming home on horseback. In the winter we heard the wolf's howl, in the spring, the thrum of the prairie hen, and in summer the song of the whip-poor-will. We had unlimited range of pasture with the inconvenience of having our cows go off and our being without milk a week at a time.

Our fruit was picked from the field and the swamp, strawberries from the former, huckleberries and cranberries from the latter. Gardens and fields were luxuriant; melons were brought in by the bushel basket and when the corn was cut up in the fall there was a golden display of pumpkins. That almost forgotten fruit was made into pies, stewed for sauce, was dried, made into pumpkin butter and a toothsome corn bread known as pumpkin Johnny cake was made of it. All housewives cooked by open fireplaces, baked bread and pies in the old-fashioned bake kettle or in the tin baker. Not till in the forties did cook stoves become common.

My mother spun, wove, colored and made up the wearing apparel for her whole family, till the invention of machinery and the incoming railroad changed everything and made home manufactures unprofitable. Suddenly all the female world found itself genteel in calico at twelve and a half cents, and delaine at twenty-five cents per yard, then the spinning wheel and loom were put aside.

There was no plaster, our plank walls were covered with newspapers. Oil painting was scarce and high priced, so we mixed some red lead with common lard, and put the mixture on the doors and partitions, but it never got dry and was always rubbing off on our clothing. Before the era of rag carpets was the notable era of scrub brooms, those well-remembered home made splint brooms.

Many a lady here present can recall the time when it was a disgrace to any housekeeper not to keep her floors "clean enough to eat off of," and the rule for rinsing was to dash on and sweep off water till "it was clear enough to drink."

Most of the furniture had been brought on the emigrant's wagons. My mother's old arm chair thus imported is my most valuable possession. Our bedsteads were the work of several hands, the posts had been done by the turner, a ruder hand had squared the rails and bored the holes for the ropes. The splint bottom chair was in every house. The greatest elegance was the windsor chair, popularly known as the winzy. These wooden bottomed chairs were painted in a variety of colors, usually dark, but I have seen them of bright grass green.

The grandest piece of furniture known was a mahogany bureau, which many went to look at with great curiosity.

People who had linen for the table made it themselves; not until late in the forties did the Irish peddler bring in a plentiful supply of table cloths.

Musical instruments were few, the fiddle the most common. Some had accordions but few could play them. When the first organ grinder came through, he was greeted with joy, and some wanted to know if that thing he carried on his back were not a piano. We had much singing of songs, mostly English ballads and Scotch airs. The songs of Burns were as familiar to us as to the Scotchman in his native land, but few songs of American authorship were popular. Such a one was "Oh, doubly mournful is the fate that I am called to relate," and "James Bird," "The White Pilgrim" was another. These early songs were the seed which brought forth a crop of piano wrestlers and screamers of opera a few years later.

The old-fashioned winter evening visits brought to your door at sunset a large wagon load of men, women and children. They remained till towards morning; a hearty meal was served about midnight. The time was filled with singing and stories. Ghost stories were most popular, but war stories had a part. There were still living not a few men who had seen Washington and Wayne, who, like my father, had fought in the war of 1812. We were told how Perry's heroes looked as they marched through western New York to reach the squadron being built on Lake Erie. We heard the story of men who fought at Tippecanoe or who escaped the massacre at Frenchtown. The war of 1812 was always spoken of as the "The late war."

Pioneer schools and school houses would better be given at the teacher's associations, time forbids their discussion here; so, too, personal recollections of the noble men and women, friends of my childhood, must not be added to this, already, too lengthy paper.

Your secretary has requested me to describe the appearance of a Michigan oak opening in its primeval beauty. Such a description would require the eye of an artist and the pen of a poet.

Much as I love those forest scenes, I have not words sufficient to give you any adequate picture of them. The fires had not run through the woods for a few years, so the wild flowers had been given full possession, and the underbrush, grubs, we called it, had not had time to grow up. The result was that the woods looked more like an old orchard than a forest. Roads wound at will among the trees, making the most graceful curves and pleasing turns. In early summer the grass was overtopped with wild flowers, surpassing in beautiful effects the most skillful landscape gardening and city park scenery.

Blue lupines, variegated phlox, scarlet painted cups, purple and white erigerons, purple cranes' bills, blue spider worts, yellow cynthias, senecios and rock roses, tall golden Alexanders and white meadow rue, dainty galiums and coarse Solumbo, medicinal lady slippers, Seneca Snake root and culver root, all these came on together or in rapid succession, commingling in the wildest profusion, and stretching as far as the eye could reach under the delicate oak foliage. Why try to describe earlier growths of violets, buttercups and anemones, or the later crowd of sun flowers, asters and all their sisters, their cousins, and their aunts? The now nearly exterminated fringed gentian then flourished in abundance.

The farmers, in their eagerness to subdue the soil, have destroyed whole families of these harmless plants and have let in others, many of them not pleasing to look at, and much more hurtful than the native species. I see the day coming when there will not be a patch of forest where the child may see the flowers which charmed his parents' eyes. Like the buffalo, the deer, the wild pigeon, the whip-poor-will and the prairie hen, these, too, will soon be things of the past.

The last pioneer will soon be gone and with him many of the native plants and animals will soon disappear.

Truly, the history of the land and such surroundings are well worth being carefully written and preserved.

GOVERNOR JOHN T. RICH

BY FORMER JUSTICE JOSEPH B. MOORE

LANSING

JOHN TREADWAY RICH was born in Conneautville, Crawford County, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1841. Five years later he removed with his parents to Addison County in the state of Vermont. In 1848 he came with his father and settled on a farm in the township of Elba, Lapeer County, Michigan.

At that time the country was new. There was an Indian reservation in the township at that time, where a considerable number of Indians lived.

His education was received in the district school at the old academy in the village of Clarkston, and in the public schools of the village of Lapeer.

Mr. Rich engaged in farming and helped about clearing the farm where he lived many years in the township of Elba. Very early he showed that he was a born leader of men. His township was normally democratic, but in 1866 or 1867 he was elected supervisor on the Republican ticket, and was re-elected to that position three successive times.

The writer of this sketch was deputy county clerk of Lapeer County under Jasper Bentley, who for many years was county clerk. He was delegated to write the Journal of the Board of Supervisors, and soon became intimately acquainted with Mr. Rich, who though the youngest supervisor on the Board was soon recognized as its ablest member and was made its chairman.

Partisan politics ran very high at that time and a number of Republicans thought it would be wise to nominate Mr. Rich as a member of the Legislature. Samuel J. Tomlinson, owner of the Lapeer *Clarion*, and the writer were requested to interview Mr. Rich and did so. At that interview he was found upon his farm, and so great was his modesty he expressed a

doubt about his possessing the necessary qualifications for the office, but finally said that if nominated he would make the race. He was elected, and subsequently re-elected three times. He was soon recognized as a leader in the House of Representatives and was twice chosen speaker and made a fine record as an impartial and intelligent presiding officer.

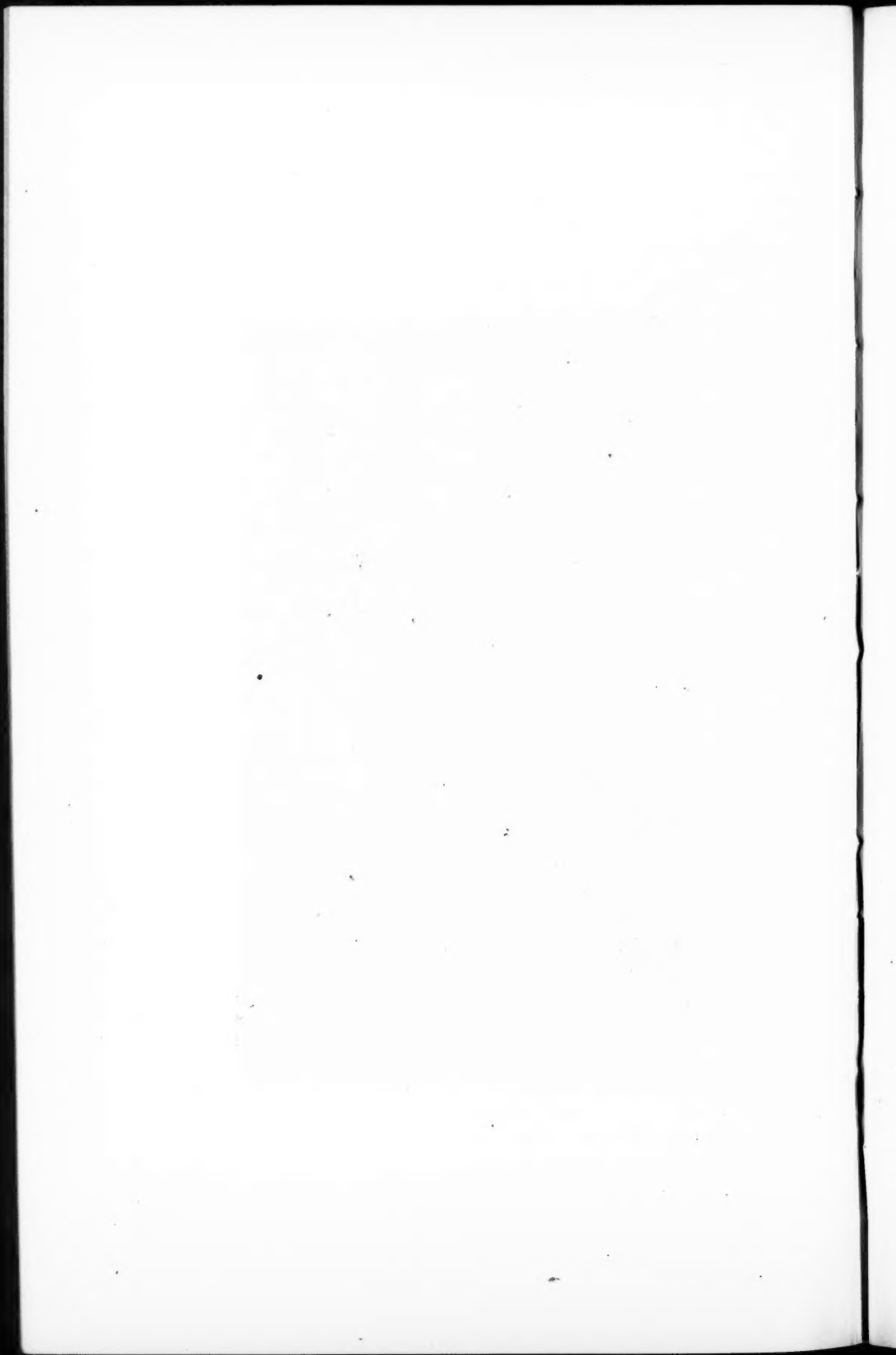
In 1880 he was elected to the State Senate as the successor of Joseph B. Moore. Before his term expired he resigned to become a candidate for Congress from the seventh congressional district to fill a vacancy caused by the election of Omar D. Conger to the United States Senate. He was elected but failed of re-election. When Cyrus G. Luce was Governor he appointed Mr. Rich Commissioner of Railroads and he made a fine record during his incumbency of that office.

In 1880 he was a candidate for Governor at the convention which met in Jackson, but the nomination went to David H. Jerome of Saginaw, who two years later was re-nominated, but who failed to be re-elected. In 1890 Mr. Rich was again a candidate for Governor at the convention which met in Detroit, but James M. Turner of Lansing was nominated. At Saginaw in 1892 he was nominated for Governor and was elected. Very soon he was put to a severe test growing out of election frauds in 1893, when an amendment increasing the salaries of certain state officers was declared carried by the state canvassing board, when in fact it had been defeated. When the Governor became satisfied a fraud had been perpetrated he promptly removed from office the members of the canvassing board and his action was sustained by the Supreme Court to which court the case was taken. Mr. Rich was elected Governor the first time by about sixteen thousand plurality. So efficient had been his administration of that high office that in 1894 he was re-elected by more than one hundred thousand plurality. This was the first time any candidate for a state office had received so large a vote.

At the time Mr. Rich was Governor no one had been a candidate for election for more than two terms, and he respected that tradition.



John T. Rich



Later Mr. Rich was appointed collector of customs in Detroit, and still later when President Roosevelt unjustly removed Lincoln Avery from the office of collector of customs at Port Huron Mr. Rich was appointed to the vacancy and held the office until Woodrow Wilson became President.

In 1908 he was appointed State Treasurer to fill a vacancy caused by the involuntary retirement of the State Treasurer. Mr. Rich found the state finances in a deplorable condition. He left them a few months later on a sound basis.

It may be because he was a resident of Vermont for a time that he became greatly interested in the breeding of the Merino sheep. He had upon his farm in Elba sheep that were the direct descendants of those brought to Vermont in 1812. He was a recognized expert in relation to wool and his advice was sought when various tariff bills affecting that industry were being framed.

He married Miss Lucretia M. Winship in 1863 and some years after her death he married Georgia Winship who is still living.

Mr. Rich was a friendly, companionable man who loved his neighbors and who in turn loved him. During the latter part of his life he and Mrs. Rich spent their winters in Florida. He died at St. Petersburg, Florida, on Sunday, March 28, 1926. His remains were brought to Lapeer by Mrs. Rich, where his neighbors and friends laid him away in Mount Hope Cemetery.

John T. Rich was a large man physically. He was a large man intellectually. He had a great heart. He held many public positions. He performed the duties pertaining to each of them honestly, courageously and intelligently. When he died, a man who had been one of the best Governors Michigan ever had passed away.

COALITION LEGISLATURE OF 1891

BY ARTHUR S. WHITE

with laws, stat. etc.
GRAND RAPIDS

THE Republican party was successful in its first campaign for State officers and members of the State Legislature, in the year 1856, and the affairs of the Commonwealth remained in the hands of that party thirty-five years. In the year 1890 a coalition of Democrats and Patrons of Industry made a clean sweep of the state offices and elected a majority of both branches of the Legislature. The Patrons of Industry represented the radical element of the voters. Fourteen of the Senators elected were Democrats, fourteen were Republicans and four Patrons of Industry. The latter, holding the balance of power between the old political parties, resolved to profit thereby for their followers. The Patrons sought for recognition in the distribution of political patronage at the hands of the Governor and participation in the organization of the Legislature. Some of the measures the Patrons proposed to enact were as follows:

That the legal rate of interest on loans should not exceed 4 per cent; that the farmer be allowed to deduct the amount of the mortgage covering his property from his tax assessment or, in lieu thereof, that he be allowed to pay the whole tax assessed on his property and that the tax receipt for the amount of his assessment be a legal tender for the principal or interest on said mortgage, thereby "catching" non-resident as well as resident money loaners; that mileage on railroads be reduced to 2 cents per mile; that a homestead exemption on improvements and personal property to the amount of \$1,000 be provided; also a graduated income tax; a uniform system of text books to be furnished by the state; that gambling in farm products be made a penal offense, with an imprisonment imposed upon conviction of not more than ten nor less than five years.

The Democrats of the House of Representatives needed the votes of the Patrons to pass their bills. The death of two Republican representatives, Hawley and Kirk, early in the session, strengthened the position of the Democrats.

President Strong appointed a committee of the Senate and Speaker Wachtel a like committee of the House to negotiate terms for close cooperation between the Democrats and the Patrons, and after weeks had been spent in conference, a working agreement was effected and harmony prevailed between the two parties thereafter. A reduction of the legal rate of interest from 8 and 10 to 7 and 6 per cent., a moderate revision of the general tax law and the enactment of many local bills were conceded to the Patrons. None of their radical bills were enacted.

Representative John Miner introduced a bill to provide for the election of presidential electors by the voters of congressional representative districts and by those of the two districts to be divided by the meridian line. The bill was strenuously opposed by the Republicans, but eventually it passed, with the aid of the Patrons. Its legality was unsuccessfully contested in both State and Federal courts. Under the operation of the law Grover Cleveland received five of the electoral votes of the State, following the presidential election of 1892.

The boards of management of the prisons and the state schools were abolished and those institutions placed under the direction of single boards, the members of which devoted all of their time to the duties of their offices.

A joint memorial to the Congress of the United States proposing the submission of an amendment to the constitution (for ratification by the states) for the election of U. S. Senators by the people, instead of by the Legislatures of the states, was passed. Petitions of tax payers presented to the Legislature asked for the imposition of taxes upon property owned by the railroads upon the same basis as taxes are imposed upon the property of private individuals and incorporations, instead of upon the net earnings of the railroads above certain stated sums per mile, as at present. Petitioners claimed that

through the grants of land by Government, the gifts of rights of way by individuals, the contributions of bonds issued by municipalities and towns together with the low rate of taxes imposed upon net earnings had enabled the railroad corporations to construct their lines very cheaply. A bill was introduced in the House to provide for an annual increase of taxes upon railroad property to the amount of \$1,000,000. Attorneys for the railroads appeared and protested vigorously against the enactment of the bill. Finally the amount of the tax was reduced to \$500,000 and the bill passed the House. In the Senate a radical reduction of the amount proposed was made and conference committees were appointed to adjust the difference between the two houses. Representatives Richardson, Diekema and the writer were informed when the conference met, that the Senate had reduced the amount of the proposed increase from \$500,000 to \$75,000, and that the Senate would not yield a larger sum. The committee representing the House studied the figures produced by the Senators carefully, and finally asked and obtained permission to retire for consultation. The Senate computation was again examined critically and the committee found an error of much importance. While the Senators had planned for an increase of \$75,000 the figures provided for an increase of \$150,000. Without revealing the discovery of the error as stated the House conferees accepted the proposal of the Senate and within a few days it was enacted into law. Within one year the act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Much interest had been awakened on account of the questionable practices that prevailed in the conduct of political caucuses and the Australian ballot was considered by many a remedy for such evils. The Legislature of 1889 was loath to order a change in the caucus election system, but public pressure finally compelled that body to pass an act providing that booths be furnished for the use of voters while preparing their ballots. By an act of the Legislature of 1891 the Australian ballot was adopted and it has since been in use practically in its original

shape. The form of the ballot has not been changed. It was drafted by Frank E. Doremus, the present Mayor of Detroit.

Reports of the mistreatment of patients by employes of the State hospital, at Kalamazoo, resulted in the appointment of a committee to investigate the management of that institution. The committee learned that force had been necessary at times to restrain unmanageable patients. The front teeth of one man who had bitten many, had been drawn for the protection of attendants.

The superintendent of the State Public Home for Dependent Children, at Coldwater, had placed a young girl in the care of a stranger, without making an investigation of the character and reputation of the man. Two days later the child's body was found in Grand River, near Dimondale. Upon the recommendation of an investigating committee, the superintendent was ousted.

With but few exceptions the Democrats were inexperienced in legislation, but they proved to be apt students and learned the routine of the work to be performed quickly. Speaker Wachtel, S. P. Jackson, of Monroe, W. E. Carpenter, of Oakland, Geo. F. Richardson, of Ottawa, H. W. Cook, of Muskegon, and F. H. Bathey, of Port Huron, were of the small number of Democrats who had served the State as Representatives. Mr. Barkworth quickly proved his ability for leadership, a position that was conceded to him soon after the session opened. Aided by Judge Miner, of Detroit, Arthur A. Tripp, of Pontiac, Frank E. Doremus, of Portland, R. E. Connor, of Saginaw, M. J. Doyle, of Menominee, and W. B. Jackson, of Detroit, Mr. Barkworth was able to meet the Republicans on equal terms in argument and in parliamentary practice. Early in the session the Republicans, presuming that Speaker Wachtel lacked parliamentary experience, attempted to "play horse" with him on questions of precedent and the rules. Mr. Wachtel enjoyed the friendship of Daniel L. Crossman who had served the house as its clerk for many sessions, and was acknowledged to be the ablest parliamentarian in the State.

His home was but six miles distant from the capitol, and when the Speaker needed advice concerning questions pending in the House he called "Uncle Dan" by phone and received the information and advice sought for. Former Speaker Gerrit J. Diekema, who led the Republicans, had the assistance of Representatives Northrup, Clapp, Swift, Hall and C. L. Eaton. All were able debaters, ready and eager to take advantage of the political mistakes of the majority.

In the Senate Martin Crocker, of Mt. Clemens, Chauncey W. Wisner, of Saginaw, and Peter Doran, of Grand Rapids, guarded the interests of the Democrats. The Republicans were strong and influential. Senator Alfred Milnes, who later served terms in the office of Lieutenant Governor and as a representative in the Congress of the United States, Robert L. Taylor, of Lapeer, W. H. Withington, of Jackson and Frank L. Prindle, of Gladwin, were the leaders of that party.

Commercial, social and political rivalry had long existed between the cities of Benton Harbor and St. Joseph. Dr. H. C. Rockwell, a resident of the latter city, was elected a Representative in the Legislature in 1890, and soon after the session of 1891 opened, supposedly in compliance with pledge made to fellow citizens before the election, introduced a bill to provide for the extension of the boundaries of St. Joseph. A large tract of farm land lay between the two cities, and the people of St. Joseph, in support of the measure, desired to acquire the district for the benefit that would accrue through the enlargement of their taxing district. As might have been expected the people of Benton Harbor became excited and indignant on account of the proceeding, and for several weeks much of the time of the Committee on Municipalities was claimed by, and granted to, delegations representing the so-called Twin Cities in the presentation of arguments in support of, and in opposition to, the measure. Finally, to put an end to the belligerency of the factions, the committee decided to report a bill to the House to provide for the consolidation of the two municipalities to be named Benton. Benton was

a pioneer of the lower St. Joseph Valley, to whose intelligence, industry and liberality the region was largely indebted for its early development.

During a discussion of the plan in committee, Representative Jack Hayward, of Kent declared: "Those little towns have always been and will continue to be, in a fight. The Legislature ought to tie their tails together like the cats of Kilkenny and allow them to fight until one kills the other." Finally Rockwell's bill was pigeonholed and forgotten. Shortly after the adjournment of the Legislature the doctor moved to Cleveland, where he now resides. He lost popularity with his constituents with the failure of the boundary extension bill. Bills were passed providing for the apportionment of senators and representatives in the Legislature. Partisanship prevailed in the drafting of the bills—always the case when such measures are under consideration. The constitution of the State limits the formation of representative and senatorial districts to contiguous territory. This limitation had been ignored by former legislatures. In one instance a county in the Upper Peninsula had been associated with a county in the Grand Traverse region to form a district.

The sponsors for the new apportionment bills went a step further, by splitting a township in Houghton county and in giving Saginaw county two senators when that county was legally entitled to but one. Representative William Harry, a pugnacious little Englishman, declared he would test the legality of the bills in the courts and employed able lawyers on his own account to do so. The Supreme Court eventually declared the apportionment acts unconstitutional. In the month of August, 1892, in response to a call of the Governor, the Legislature re-assembled, and two days later passed apportionment bills which were free from the objectionable features found in the original acts by the court.

Senator Doran, of Kent, early in the session introduced a bill to provide a change in the system used in taxing the mines of the State. The bill was strongly opposed by the

mining interests. Don M. Dickinson, of Detroit, and George W. Hayden, of Marquette, able lawyers, were employed by the mine owners to appear before the coalitionists and discuss the bill. A meeting was held behind locked doors, in Pioneer hall, immediately under the roof of the capitol building, on the Eastern facade. W. C. Graves, representing the *Detroit Tribune*, determined to obtain a report of the proceedings. To attain an advantageous position he opened a window and crawled over a narrow ice covered projection to the front of the building, where he could hear the discussion and observe the speakers. On the morning following the *Tribune* contained a complete account of the meeting. Mr. Graves suffered intensely from the cold during the two hours he clung to the ledge. His return to the main structure was perilous. A slip would have precipitated him to the pavement, about eighty feet below. Later in the session Mr. Graves caused to be printed a statement in the *Tribune* to the effect that members of the Legislature, whom he named, had accepted remuneration for their services in aiding the passage of local bills. The accused vigorously denied the charge and Graves was summoned by the House of Representatives to appear before a committee and substantiate his charges. This he refused to do and the House barred him from its floors.

Resolutions were presented to provide for extra compensation to employes of the House and Senate. In the House such resolutions were referred to a committee especially charged with the duty of obstructing their passage. On the closing of the session the engrossing and enrolling clerks resigned and left the city. They had expected a material increase over the amount of the compensation legally due them for their services. The Committee on Engrossed and Enrolled Bills called upon the officers of the State for clerical assistance which was cheerfully furnished, and the work to be done was finished when the hour for final adjournment arrived.

The House and Senate jointly held memorial services following the deaths of General W. T. Sherman and Admiral

David D. Porter and attended the funeral services of Congressman M. H. Ford, held in Grand Rapids in the month of May. The session was opened on January 7, and closed on July 31. Of the men who composed the legislature of 1891 only a few remain. As a body, in character and intelligence, it was not inferior to the legislatures of the past nor the present.— *Michigan Tradesman*.

Dearborn

SOME INTERESTING THINGS IN THE FORD HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

BY HENRY A. HAIGH

DETROIT

IN preceding articles on the Ford Collections at Dearborn fairly detailed descriptions have been given of exhibits in the Transport and Automotive Divisions, and an interesting account was contributed by Mr. H. M. Cordell, of old candlesticks, candelabra, lamps and chandeliers, in which classes of specimens the collection is already rich.

In order to avoid the tedium, as well as the appearance, of cataloguing or classifying the Collections, which is not the intention of these articles, it is proposed to set forth in the present article certain groups of unique specimens selected at random on account of their interest to the ordinary observer.

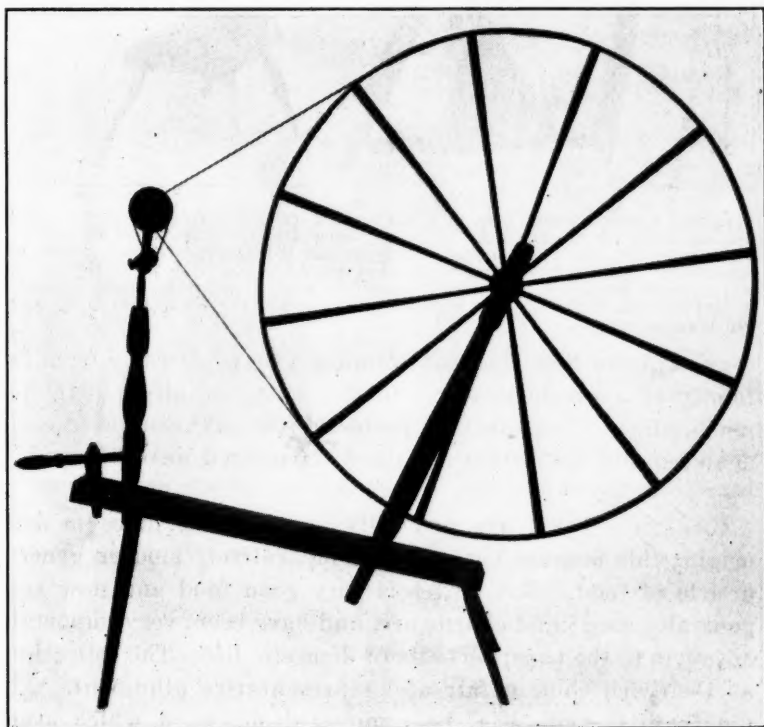
HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

Perhaps no mechanical contrivances arouse a readier or more responsive interest than those simple devices which have enabled our ancestors to come down the pathway of time with ever increasing physical comfort to themselves and their descendants.

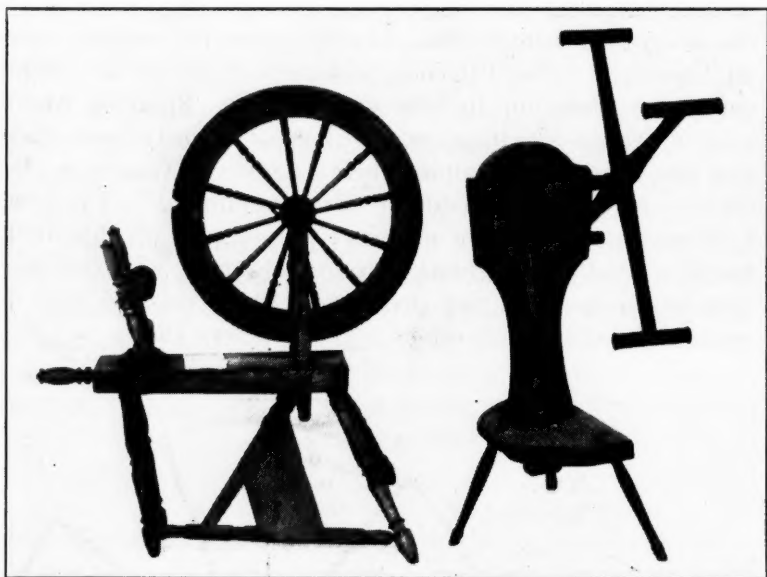
Simple mechanical inventions which now seem commonplace were lifesavers in their inception. Many things, now useless save as mementoes, were priceless in their prime. The spear, the arrow and the axe have helped humanity perchance far beyond our present power to appreciate. Certainly benches, beds and cradles made life more enduring, and spinning wheels, looms, stoves and churns made it more comfortable and secure.

SPINNING WHEELS. There are perhaps more specimens of spinning wheels in the Ford Collections than of any other

domestic device. The reason seems obvious; they were numerous, every household had one, and they were an essential necessity, specially to the Pilgrims, who were dependent on "homespun" for protection in their stern climate. Spinning wheels were universal servitors; every civilized country used them and many countries claimed their origin. Cervantes in *Don Quixote* says, "Every maid attends her spinning." The affection engendered by the essential helpfulness of this little machine kindled imagination into veneration, and innumerable specimens have been preserved. There must be fifty or more in the Ford Collections. The one here shown is fairly



An old spinning wheel, turned by hand. These were usually made locally, the posts turned by the local woodworker.



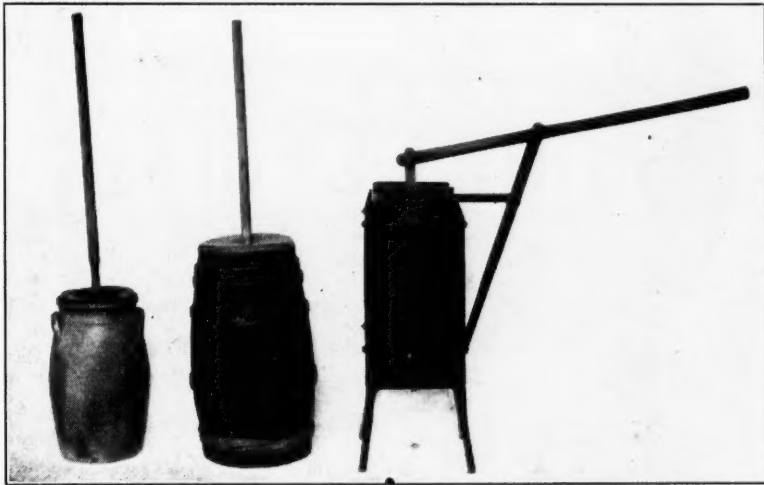
A small spinning wheel, used by the wife of a Revolutionary War soldier. Upon this old wheel she did her "bit" while her husband shivered at Valley Forge.

The other is a clock-reel, so-called from a dial in the upper section, which was cogged and revolved by means of a worm on the axle of the reel. On the dial was a small projection which, on a complete revolution of the dial, engaged a springy wooden blade, a sharp click indicating to the worker that so many yards had been reeled.

typical of the New England spinning wheel. It came from the family of a revolutionary soldier. They are all in principle much alike. Comparative perfection must have been early achieved and the device remained unchanged until the end.

CHURNS. These are generally speaking of more modern origin; this because butter is a comparatively modern general article of food. But butter is very good food and now very generally used; and churns are, and have been, very important adjuncts to the paraphernalia of domestic life. The collections at Dearborn show a fair and representative allotment. The old familiar type was the common dash churn which every farmer boy and girl knew well about. Then there were box churns of many forms, some quite curious, and dog churns and

goat churns. These were not uncommon. One at Dearborn is specially interesting but too large for photographing for this article. When we get the new building in which to house the whole Ford Collections, all these things will be displayed so they can be seen and studied.



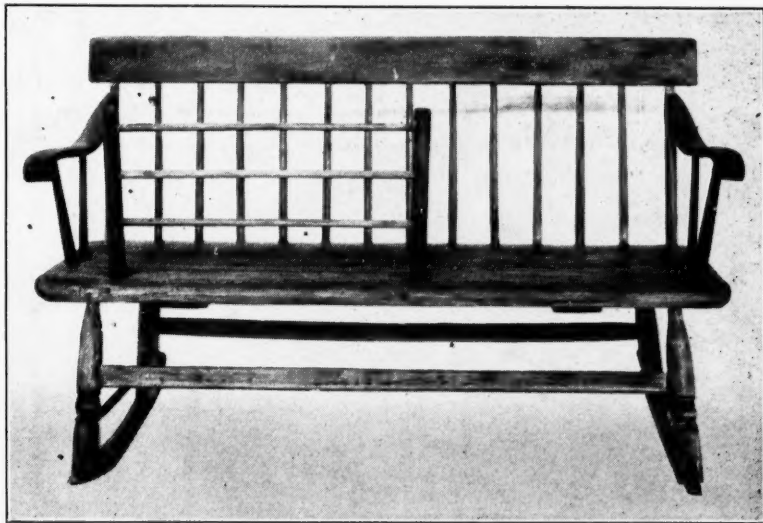
Three churns, out of many types. Earthen jar, with wood top and dash; barrel churn and lever type.

CRADLES. What a figure they have cut in the life of this and almost every land! Until recently every child was rocked in a cradle. William Wallace who lived a hundred years ago wrote that "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world". This is figurative and may be doubted. It seems to have been questioned long ago, for one George Cox, born in 1786, wrote that you could "rock the cradle till you ruined the child".



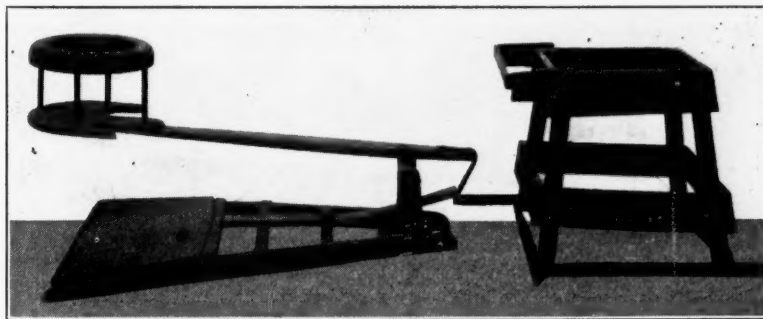
A very curious "clock-cradle." The drum at the end conceals a heavy spring, wound with a crank. Once started it will rock the cradle gently until its motion is arrested by the hand.

Now cradles seem to have gone out of fashion, relegated to attics. A lot of them have been sent to Mr. Ford. Some are curious. The devices that parents have employed to keep their kiddies quiet are ingenious. One cradle, shown in this article, was rocked by a clock which kept the cradle rocking till the clock ran down. Another device, not uncommon, and shown here, was to have the cradle made a part of a rather long settee



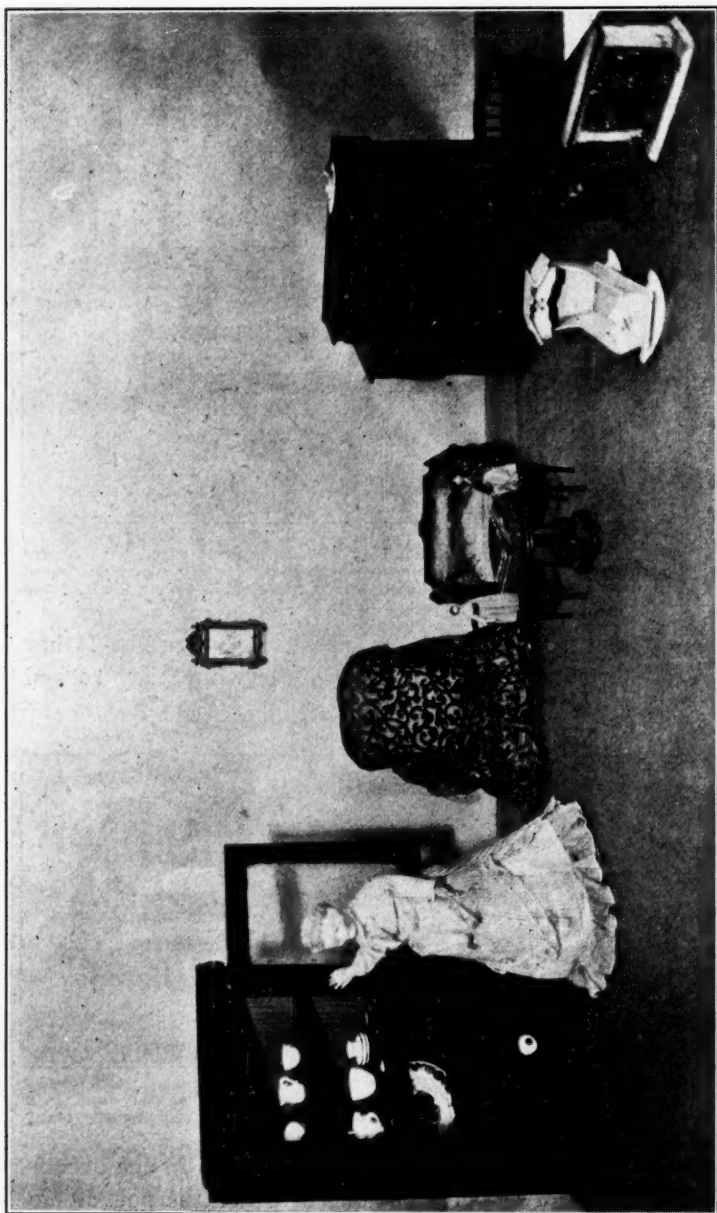
An old-fashioned rocking bench. These may still be seen in some backcountry farmhouses, in daily use. A small, two-posted frame, inserted in two holes bored toward the front of the bench, transformed one-half of it into a cradle. At the other end sat the busy mother with her sewing.

on rockers, with seats at one or both ends where the father and mother could sit and rock themselves while they rocked the baby.



A baby-jumper, a popular piece of furniture in the fifties. On the right is a "baby-walker." In this the poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, whiled away many of the hours of his babyhood.

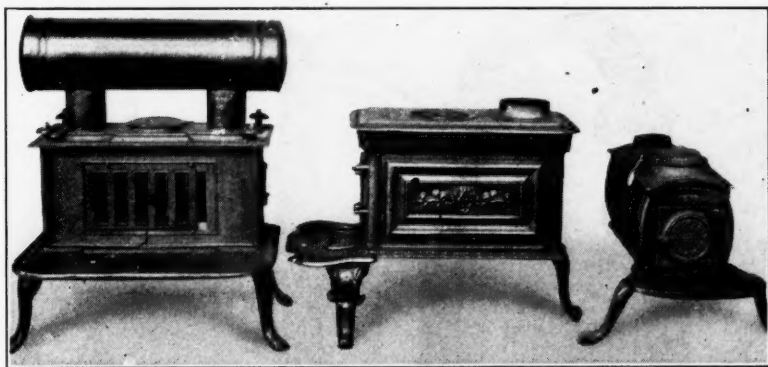
A baby jumper and a baby walker, are shown in the accompanying cuts, the latter being the one in which the poet Longfellow learned to walk.



A glimpse of the toy section. The tiny dolls perched on the chairs are of wood and are "twins." They date from Colonial times. The large doll is the first walking doll, made in the middle of the last century. When wound up she glides smoothly and majestically across the floor. The collections contain a multitude of interesting children's playthings.

A collection of toys is shown in the pictures, picked from the piles of pretty playthings preserved in the Ford Collections. They are all very interesting; and their abundance shows how the mothers of America have loved their little ones. Perhaps it is this mother-love that rules the world and is saving it. Where have I read that the love lavished on the babies by the mothers of the land blooms to its full fruition and its power when the babies grow up?

STOVES. After the fireplace, built in the base of the chimney, came the stove, an American invention, in which Benjamin Franklin played an important part, and which did more to



Some early stoves. The smallest one was made in 1839, the others at later dates. make homes comfortable in cold weather than all other heating devices that preceded. Stoves grew out of fireplace bake ovens which were gradually enlarged and finally set out into the room from the chimney so that nearly all the heat was saved.

There is a fine collection of stoves at Dearborn which when arranged will show their evolution. Those shown here will seem familiar to older readers. They were of many shapes and kinds, from the little box stove to the stately base burner. There is not much poetry about stoves, like there is about fireplaces, which are ancient, but they were comfortable and they served well their time.

The big box stoves, capable of taking in cordwood, were a boon in the barny farmhouses of early Michigan. There was one in the hallway of the old Haigh homestead at Dearborn, made all of sheet iron except the bottom, that would hold four or five cordwood sticks of beech or maple and keep the whole house more comfortable all night than the modern furnace



Two other stoves of the 50's, the chimneys of which were designed so as to take the fullest advantage of the warmth before the smoke finally passed into the outside air.

does now. And there was one of cast iron, with fancy figures molded in the sides, that stood in the hall of the old Ten Eyck homestead. I well remember being there one cold winter night about 1870 when this old stove heated the old house so hot that "Uncle Billy" Ten Eyck and I had to go out on the porch

to cool off. These two old stoves are or should be in the Ford Collections, and they show that in those old days people did not have to go cold if they didn't want to, for wood was then free on farms except for the labor of cutting it.

BICYCLES. This article closes with a view of two specimens of bicycles, a device still common and the evolution of which will be familiar to older readers. The collection of bicycles in the Ford Collections is fairly complete and is growing.



One of the first types of the high-wheeled bicycle. In the collection are many others, providing a complete line illustrating the evolution of the bicycle.

The good old bicycle deserves to be gratefully remembered for it had many merits. It was safe, maiming few, killing none, causing no nerve rack nor moral wreck, offering no easy getaway for bandits, hold-up men and murderers; not turning night into a carousal nor day into an enervating drowse. It was cheap, costing less than a set of auto tires now. It was wholesome, giving the rider good exercise, a good healthful glow and a good appetite. It was speedy enough. I could spin out to Dearborn about as quickly then as now—counting the

time of getting the auto around and putting it away. But it had its bad defects. It was no good for a bootlegger, nor a sheik.



The earliest pedal bicycle. This type superseded the "dandy-horse" which had no pedals but was propelled by the impetus given by the feet on the ground.

THE FIRST ST. LAWRENCE DEEPENING SCHEME

BY GEORGE W. BROWN, PH. D.

FORMERLY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE network of waterways which overspreads the interior of North America has been one of the major factors in shaping the history of the continent ever since the arrival of the white man. To the early explorer the St. Lawrence and Mississippi provided open doorways which piqued his curiosity. At many points the upper waters of the two river systems interlocked in a way that is duplicated nowhere else in the world, and by means of innumerable tributaries and easy portages the traveller found that he could gain access to almost every part of the great central plain.

The French in building up their American empire yielded to this obvious geographical influence, and for almost two centuries the picturesque voyageur and the savage redskin threaded their way by stream and portage path through the almost primeval forest in their task of linking the manufactured goods of the old world with the peltries of the new. The British after 1763 fell heir to the French program, and although twenty years later they relinquished their political control of the lands south of the lakes, they still hoped, by way of the St. Lawrence and because of the superiority of British manufactured goods, to monopolize the trade of the West. This hope was in fact realized to a great extent until the surrender of the Western Posts in 1796, and even up to the war of 1812 British traders extended their operations across the boundary line.

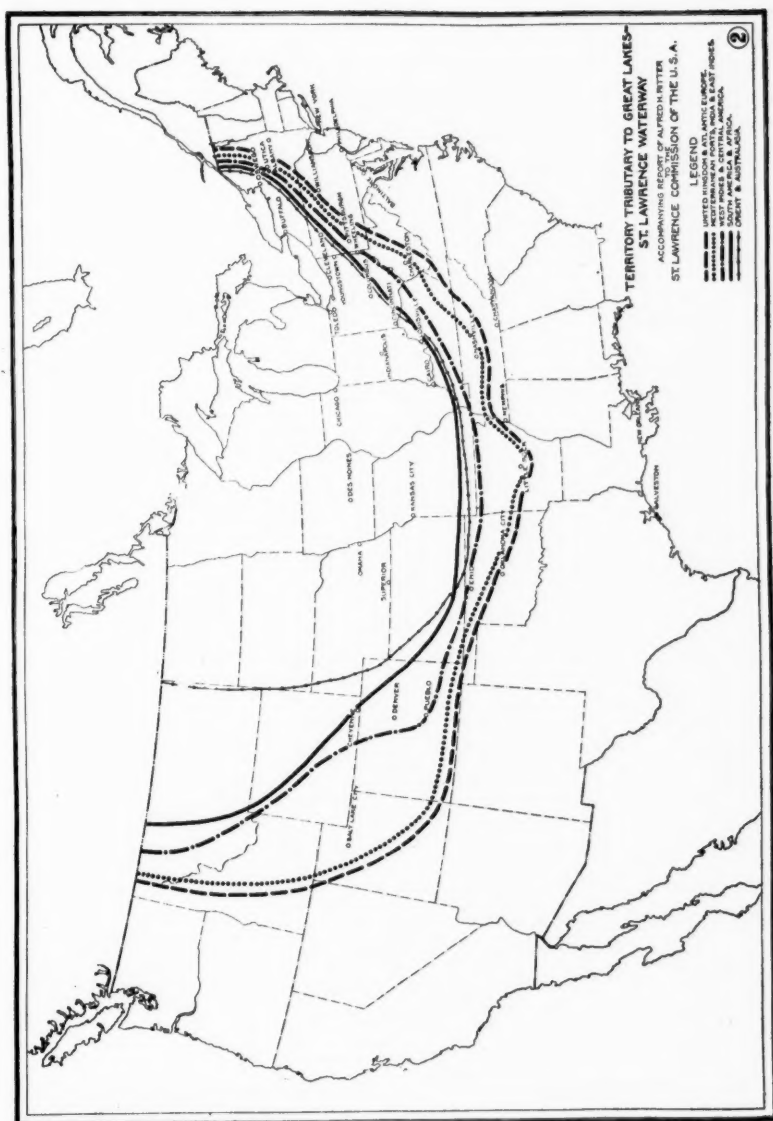
In the generation following 1783 two types of life, mutually exclusive, were, however, opposed to each other in the St. Lawrence Basin,—the one dependent on the preservation of the forest, the other bent on felling its trees and hewing out

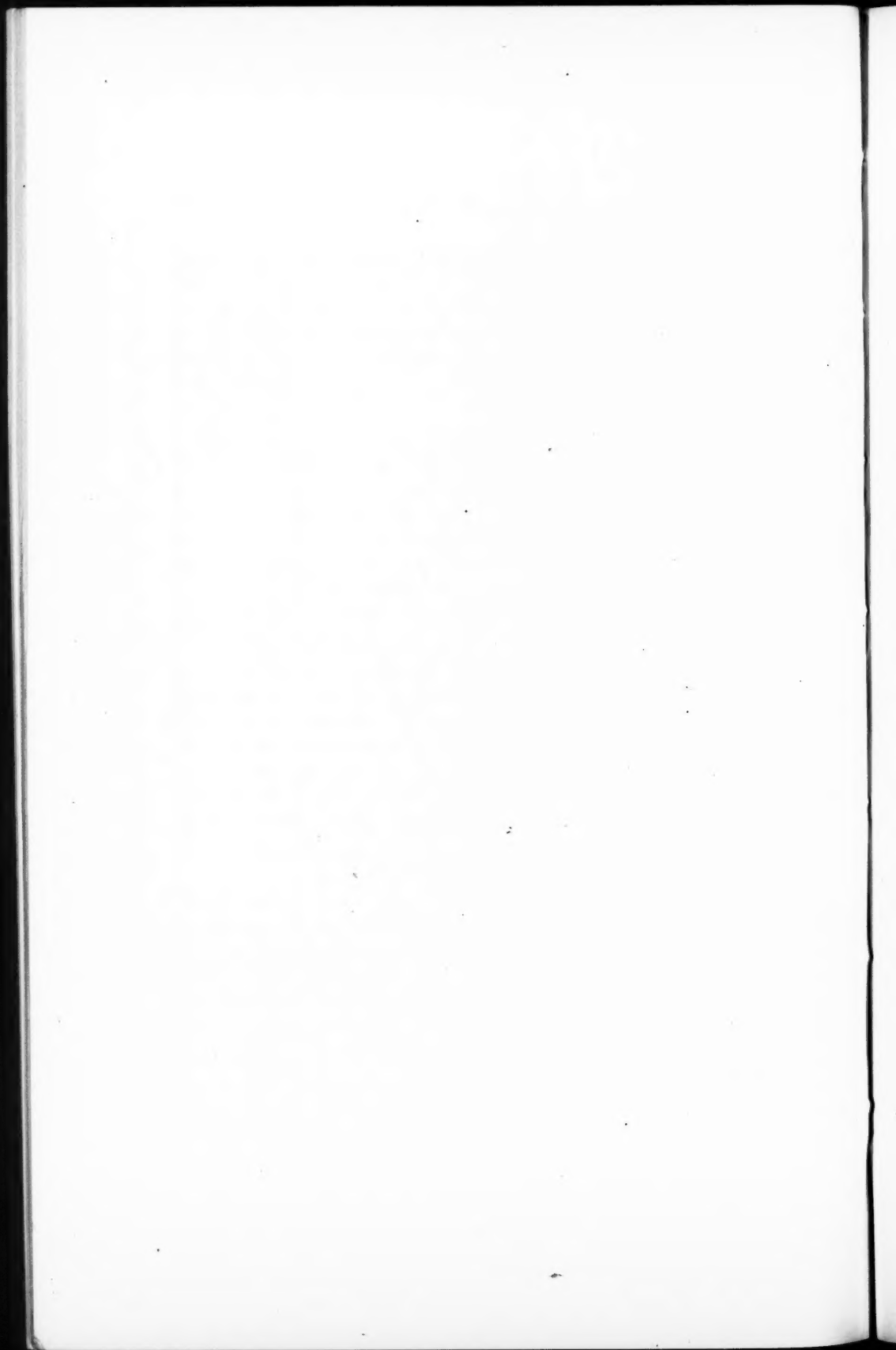
Read at the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held in Lansing, May 15, 1925.

roads and fields. With the opening of the new century the days of the fur trade in the region tributary to the Lakes were numbered. Its future lay in the far north and west. Parkman caught the spirit of the passing age in the Old North West, and portrayed it with almost photographic exactness, but even while he wrote the reality of yesterday had faded into the shadow of the past.

The importance of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi was however to be increased rather than diminished with the decline of the fur trade. Even before 1800 the migration, over the Appalachian barrier and especially down the Ohio, gave promise that the West would be settled by a farming population which would export vast quantities of lumber and provisions and would require manufactured goods in return. To many, New Orleans seemed to be the natural gateway for this potential commerce, and its advantages were undoubtedly great, since bulky products could be floated from the upper tributaries of the Ohio more cheaply than they could be carried the few hundred miles overland to the Atlantic ports. Next to the Mississippi the natural advantages of the St. Lawrence were perhaps the most obvious, and the possibility of making it an avenue by which the future commerce of the west might be largely controlled in British interests appealed to a number of men both in England and Canada.

A good exposition of this view was given by Sir Richard Cartwright, one of the outstanding figures in that Loyalist settlement which had established the colony of Upper Canada during the last decade of the eighteenth century. In 1797 he wrote that European goods could be brought into Upper Canada much more cheaply by the St. Lawrence than through the United States, since heavy duties were levied at the American Atlantic ports, and since too the portages in the Mohawk route were expensive. He observed that even the settlements south of the Lakes were being supplied with English and West Indian goods imported by the St. Lawrence, and he believed that if the Americans of the western settlements could be en-





couraged to use this route rather than to establish commercial relations with the Eastern states, the great trade which was certain within a few years to flow to and from this region would be turned to British commercial, and perhaps political, advantage. Cartwright was very positive in his assertion of the superiority of the St. Lawrence route for all the settlements tributary to the Great Lakes. "Notwithstanding all the vaporings of our neighbors about the communication by the Mohawk River," he wrote, "it can never be made equal to that by the St. Lawrence even in its present state." "The natural, I had almost said the only, outlet for all the produce of these settlements is by the St. Lawrence whose waters are sufficient to carry the largest rafts of lumber to your seaports. . . . [The route] by way of Oswego is utterly impossible. . . . The price of transport from Albany to Oswego is actually double the expense from Montreal to Kingston." Just at the end of the century the English traveller Isaac Weld expressed a similar opinion. He compared the distance of the lake country from Montreal, Washington, New York, and New Orleans, and predicted, that as the demand of the back country for European manufactures increased, Montreal would become one of the greatest cities on the continent. The length of the boundary line would, he believed, prevent the American government from raising an effective customs barrier against the importation of British manufactured goods by the St. Lawrence.

In partial fulfilment of the predictions of such men as Cartwright and Weld, the St. Lawrence route did, during the early years of the nineteenth century, attract much of the export trade of the American settlements along the northern boundary. To the natural advantages of the route was added the encouragement of a very interesting policy of trade regulation, embodied in British and provincial statutes. These provided that products of the states bordering on Quebec might, after passing through that province, be exported as if they were of Canadian origin, and so receive the benefit of the colonial

preferences in British markets. This policy, begun about 1790 and continued with little interruption for over forty years, was designed not only to benefit Canadian merchants and British shipping which had a monopoly of St. Lawrence trade, but also to meet the needs of the British West Indies, whose long-established intercourse with the Atlantic Coast was after 1783 prohibited. British merchants argued that Canada and the other northern colonies might ultimately be encouraged to take the place of New England in the trade with the sugar islands; and that meanwhile American exports essential to the West Indies might be attracted through the St. Lawrence and so controlled by British merchants and shippers. The policy of encouraging St. Lawrence trade under the British preferential system was interrupted only once in the next forty-five years, and this came as a result of some of Huskisson's legislation which was designed to sweep away many of the anomalies of the old colonial system, and to free colonial trade from some of the shackles of Mercantilism. For a short time after 1822 a duty was imposed on American goods crossing the boundary into Canada while at the same time a direct trade under certain conditions was allowed between the American Atlantic ports and the British West Indies. The late '20's however saw a return to the policy of favoring St. Lawrence trade by British legislation. West Indian ports were again closed to American ships and British tariff laws again encouraged American timber and provisions to cross the border for export by the Canadian route. So the prosperity of the river continued to be bound up with the preservation of the old colonial system. It is interesting to note that Huskisson's temporary interference with the St. Lawrence export trade brought from the American government its first demand that the St. Lawrence be opened so that an American vessel might sail from the Great Lakes to the ocean. The question was taken up at the request of the settlements along the northern boundary which found their route to the sea blocked by Huskisson's tariff. The result was a negotiation

of almost five years in which the American government demanded that Great Britain should recognize the "natural" and permanent right of American citizens to navigate the St. Lawrence throughout its entire length. The British Government replied that it was willing to view the matter as one of mutual concession and that it would grant the privilege in return for a *quid pro quo*, but it denied the claim of "natural right" which involved a limitation of British sovereignty in Canadian territory. The United States refused to recede from its theoretical position, and the negotiation came to nothing. The result was that the opening of the river as an international waterway was delayed for thirty years.

On the surface the British preferential tariffs, to which reference has been made, seemed to be of great benefit to the St. Lawrence route, but as a matter of fact the advantage was a specious one, since it encouraged those interested in the development of St. Lawrence trade to rely on the artificial stimulus of British Mercantilistic policy, and to neglect the improvements which would have added greatly to the value of the route. Before the era of extensive canal building the St. Lawrence was undoubtedly the best route for all who could take advantage of it in exporting bulky products. In some cases it was preferable even for imports. But even at best it was a difficult route. The river and the Gulf of St. Lawrence presented very serious dangers to sailing vessels. The fact that many boats had to come in ballast raised the cost of ocean freight from Montreal and Quebec to a high figure. The rapids above Montreal made necessary expensive portages in bringing goods up the river, while shipments floated down on rafts and scows often suffered serious loss. The Niagara portage was very expensive, and above all the suspension of commerce during the long winter was an insuperable and very serious obstacle. Nevertheless in spite of these handicaps the natural advantages of the St. Lawrence compared favorably with those of the other unimproved highways to the North West, such as the overland route to the Atlantic Coast, or the Ohio-Mississippi waterway to New Orleans.

After 1815, however, the situation promised to change entirely, as a result of the building of canals, and with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 the St. Lawrence was faced with most serious competition. Unless one reads the newspapers of one hundred years ago it is difficult to appreciate the enthusiasm aroused by the possibilities of canal construction. As compared with the rough and dusty turnpike the canal represented a revolution in the facilities of communication. Men were confident that the main business of the continent was destined to be carried on through the waterways, and they described in glowing terms the low cost, comfort, safety and speed of canal and river transportation. A New York traveller in 1820 wrote that one horse could draw as much on a canal as sixty on a road, and that he had seen four horses draw 440 tons of lumber twenty miles for \$50. By land it would have cost \$1,600. Most ambitious programs of canal building were projected, and a number of the western states especially, were drawn into extensive plans for waterways which would give them access to the markets of the world. As a matter of fact goods were often transported for surprising distances by inland water routes. The New York canal commissioners for example, reported shipments in 1836 from New York to Huntsville, Alabama, by way of Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, the Ohio, Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers,—a total distance of 2,010 miles. This route was said to be only \$1.00 per 100 pounds more than the ocean and river route by way of New Orleans, while it was much safer and ten to twelve days shorter. Little wonder that Niles *Register*, in truly modern style, remarked in describing such noteworthy incidents that distance had been conquered by science.

With these improvements in transportation there began in full measure that economic development of the central part of the continent which occupies such a large place in the history of the nineteenth century, and which in its extent and rapidity is probably unparalleled in the world's history. Many

factors combined to make this possible, among them being the great fertility and variety of resources in the region, the comparative absence of obstructing tariff walls, freedom from devastating wars, the energy and buoyancy of a young and free people, and the fact that the industrial revolution and scientific inventions not only made such a rapid expansion possible in the nineteenth century for the first time, but also turned Europe into an importer of food and raw materials on an immense scale, and so stimulated production in many parts of the world and especially in America.

A natural result of these developments was an intense and conscious rivalry for the trade of the west. Millions of people, it was believed would soon inhabit the interior of the continent, which would produce a commerce of boundless possibilities. Every state or city, which by any stretch of the imagination might perhaps attract part of the prize, put forward its potential advantages as a doorway for western trade, and advocated the improvements which it contended would make its route the cheapest, safest or shortest to the west. Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Richmond, New Orleans, Quebec and Montreal, even Charleston and Savannah, all felt that they might tap this source of prosperity. Such projects were not new. Even before 1790 Jefferson and Washington felt that the trade of the North West could be drawn to Virginia, and as early as 1795 plans were put forward in Philadelphia for a continuous water route by way of Pittsburg to Lake Erie. But these had been little more than precocious forecasts of what might be done in the future. Now in the '20's and '30's a great western trade had actually developed, and opportunity was knocking on the door of the city which could attract it.

New York by the completion of the Erie Canal was the first to solve the problem. She devised her plans with the definite object of tapping the trade of the Great Lakes, and the vast region tributary to them, and the success of the plan surprised even its most sanguine advocates. The canal could

accommodate only a fair sized barge, but within a few years the tolls had paid the entire cost, while the area which might make use of the New York route was constantly expanding. In 1838 it was estimated that as a result of the works under construction, 2,500 miles of waterways would converge towards Lake Erie.

In the face of these conditions after 1825 the question presented itself with increasing insistence:—Could the St. Lawrence, the natural outlet for the Lakes hold its own, or would the aims of New York be crowned with complete success? Very plainly the advantage of the British preference was not sufficient to put the St. Lawrence on equal terms with the Erie Canal: but the advocates of the Canadian route felt that the scale might again be tipped in their favor by the improvement of the channel and the building of canals at Niagara and around the rapids above Montreal.

A full realization of these plans was, however, blocked by divided political control in Canada. The British government, whose financial assistance seemed necessary, cared nothing except for an easily defended military route from Montreal to Upper Canada, and with that object it had, after the War of 1812, fostered the building of the Rideau Canal from Kingston to the Ottawa River. Even in Canada, however, there was no unanimous opinion in favor of St. Lawrence improvements. Most of the rapids above Montreal were within the bounds of Upper Canada, and the people of Lower Canada, who had unobstructed access to the sea, had no intention of undertaking public works for the benefit of the upper province. In addition to this, the merchants and shippers of Montreal and Quebec were plainly afraid that their monopoly of the river's trade would be menaced by the construction of a channel which would make possible the shipping of cargoes between the Lakes and the ocean without breaking bulk. This attitude was stupidly short-sighted, since it openly encouraged the people of Upper Canada to make use of American routes in preference to the St. Lawrence, but most of the commercial

men of Montreal and Quebec could not see beyond their own immediate narrow and selfish interests.

In face of these discouragements the legislature of Upper Canada proceeded slowly with its program. By 1830 a canal eight feet in depth was opened at Niagara, and four years later plans were adopted for a nine foot channel in the St. Lawrence; but the project was evidently useless unless Lower Canada would co-operate in completing it as far as Montreal. The irritation in Upper Canada was very great, and was one of the contributing causes of the Rebellion of 1837. The result of this episode was a union of the provinces in 1840 which made possible a concerted scheme of action. By this time too the advantages of a deep waterway from the Lakes to the ocean were more fully appreciated, and in the first session of the united legislature plans were made for the completion of a nine foot channel from the upper lakes to the sea. The advocates of this project had no doubt of its success. If New York had captured western trade by means of a barge canal what might not be done by a route which would make it possible for a steamboat to proceed from the center of the continent directly to the ports of Europe. If to the canal system were added the long-established advantages of the British preferential tariffs, there seemed no doubt of the success of the new route. American lake ports, such as Cleveland, were also greatly interested and their newspapers commented enthusiastically on the possibility of direct trade with Europe and the West Indies.

The new canals were partially opened in 1848, and in the next year the first St. Lawrence deepening scheme was completed. Vessels did make their way directly from the ocean to the upper lakes, and railroad rails were, for example, brought directly from England to Cleveland. For a number of reasons, however, which this paper can simply suggest, the new waterway never realized fully the anticipations of its builders. The first was that with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the adoption of Free Trade by England,

the system of British preferential tariffs, on which the St. Lawrence had so long relied, was swept away. The projectors of the new canals had not read the signs of the times. They had counted on the British preference, and they viewed the new situation with consternation. To make matters worse the St. Lawrence, although it had lost the advantages, was still handicapped by the restrictions, of the old colonial system. A demand immediately arose that these should be abolished, and especially that the right of freely navigating the river throughout its entire length should be extended to American vessels so that they might be encouraged to contribute their tolls to the Canadian revenue. These objects were achieved, the first in 1849 when the hoary Navigation Laws were repealed by the British Parliament, and the second by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with the United States, in which the right of free navigation of the St. Lawrence, which the Canadians were so anxious to have the United States accept, was represented as a real concession. It is interesting to note that the American government at this time dropped the claim of "natural" and permanent right which had blocked the negotiation thirty years before. It was, however, in the interest of Canada as well as the United States that the concession once given should never be withdrawn, and in 1870 a treaty clause provided that the entire length of the river should be permanently thrown open to American, on equal terms with Canadian, vessels.

But even the final freeing of St. Lawrence traffic in 1854 from the restrictions of the old colonial system did not bring the Canadian route the anticipated prosperity. One reason was that the nine foot channel soon proved inadequate, and later improvements have never quite kept pace with increases in the size of lake and ocean freighters. More important still however was the development of railroads which, at the very time the first St. Lawrence deepening scheme was completed, began to change the whole transportation system of the continent. To this was added the fact that after 1845 the American

government passed a series of Bonding and Drawback laws which freed Canadian exports and imports passing through the United States from customs duties. After 1850 the Canadians themselves turned more and more to railroad building, and in the face of all these conditions the St. Lawrence has never been able to regain its place as the most important route from the Atlantic Coast to the West. Its history in the last fifty years is not, however, the story of an almost continual decline as is that of the Mississippi. The obvious natural and permanent advantages of the St. Lawrence, which might make possible an unbroken voyage by an ocean freighter from Liverpool to Chicago, still appeal to the imagination as they did eighty years ago. The problem of utilizing those advantages to the full is still not an easy one to solve, involving as it does very complex political as well as engineering difficulties, but international co-operation in one form or another has now been definitely accepted as a principle of action, and the artificial restrictions which played such a large part in the first half of the last century have now been swept away. In spite of the development of new outlets for the West, especially through the completion of the Panama Canal, it seems certain that the future expansion of American commerce will demand the use of every available route. If then one may venture a mild prophecy in a paper which is supposed to deal with the past, we may be permitted to look forward with some confidence to the time when the St. Lawrence will once again take its place among the great highways between the Atlantic Ocean and the interior of the continent.

FIFTY YEARS OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN DETROIT

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

DETROIT

THE State Census of 1874 gave Wayne County a total manufactured product valued at \$32,500,000. This was mostly in territory included within the present city limits of Detroit, though then much of it was outside. In the same territory the product for 1924 will approximate two and a half billion dollars. The factories in this territory now produce as much in value in four days as they did in the whole year, half a century ago.

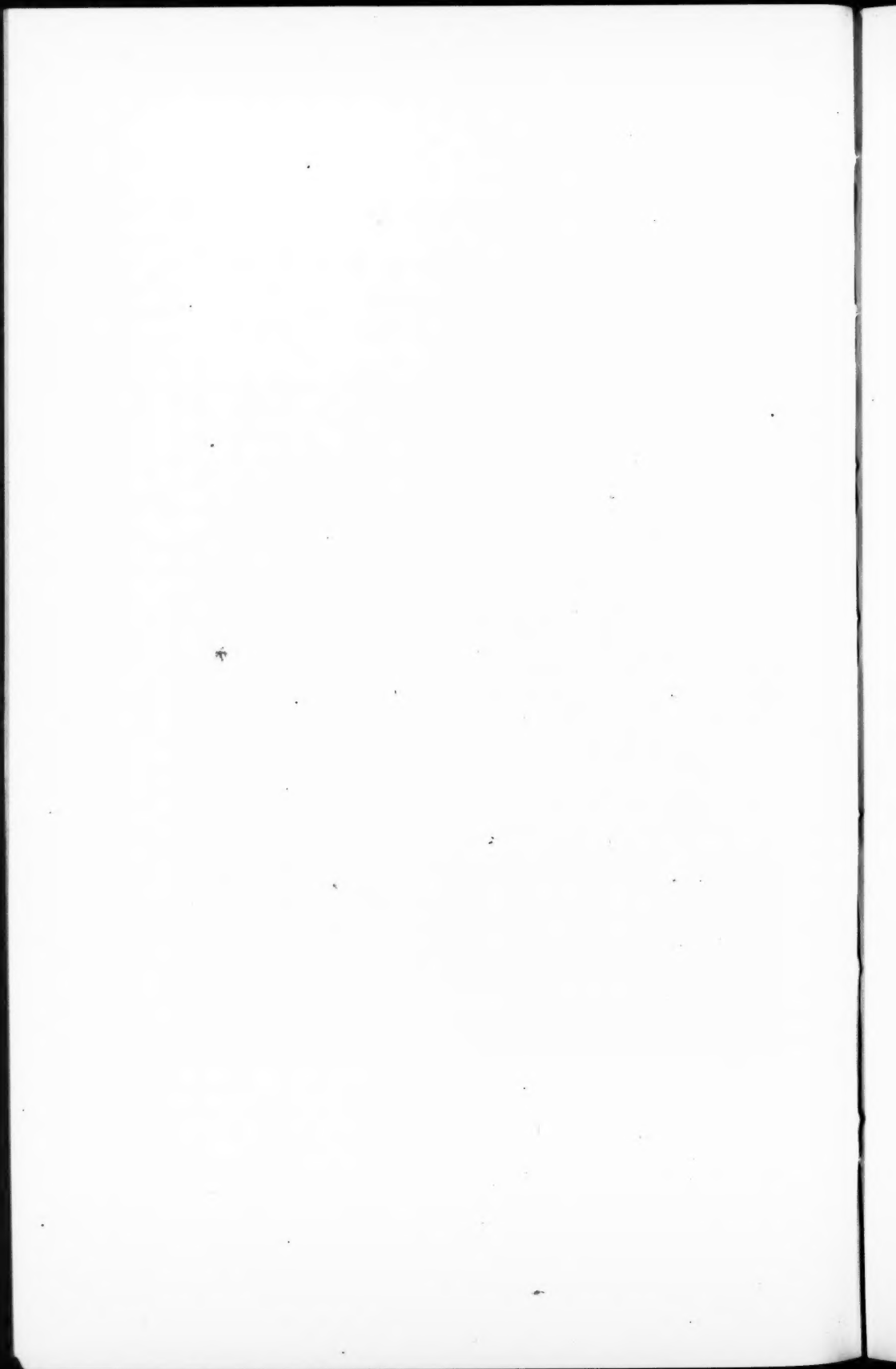
Detroit was first reported separately from the rest of the country in the United States Census reports of 1880. The value of its products that year was a little over \$30,000,000 and it was 19th in rank in that respect among the industrial centers of the country. In 1890, with a product valued at \$77,000,000 it was 17th, in 1899 with product of \$92,000,000, it was 16th; in 1904 its rank was 12th with product valued at \$128,700,000 and in 1909 it was 9th with product of \$252,500,000. In the next five years the product more than doubled again being \$569,000,000, and it was sixth in rank. In 1919 the aggregate product was \$1,803,000,000. In these enumerations, Hamtramck and Highland Park are included. Their industries were first established by the overflow from those within the old city limits. They are from two to three miles within the present city limits, are run mainly by Detroit capital and are essentially a part of Detroit's business, though having separate municipal administration.

Since the enumeration for 1919 was made there has been an immense expansion of the Ford interests along the Rouge on territory contiguous to Detroit. This, with other territory along the Rouge, is closely allied with the city's business interests, is a part of what in Census Bureau parlance is styled

Read at the semi-centennial of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held in Lansing, May 21-23, 1924.



Old Board of Trade, 1865-1882



the Metropolitan district; and is included in the estimates for 1924. Detroit is now third among the industrial centers of the country in manufacturing capital, number of employes and value of product, being surpassed only by New York and Chicago.

In 1874 Wayne County had 26% in value of all the manufactured products of the State. In 1899 Detroit alone had about 28%; in 1904 nearly the same; in 1909 its percentage was 37. In 1914 it had risen to 52% and in 1919 to 55%. In a few of its special lines it has three or four times as large a product as all the rest of the State put together.

April 29, 1874, the *Detroit Post*, of which, by the way, the writer of this article was then managing editor, published a supplement of 36 long columns descriptive of the manufacturing industries of the city. Its summing up gave the following as the value of the product in some of the leading classes; manufactures of iron and other metals not otherwise classified, \$11,128,500, tobacco and cigars, \$4,000,000, flour and feed mills, \$1,830,000, breweries and malt houses, \$1,116,000, lasts and shoes, \$986,000, furniture, \$725,000, stoves, \$625,000, boiler shops, \$585,000.

The changes in the character of Detroit's industries since then are the most interesting feature of its marvelous growth. There has been the rapid rise and subsequent decadence of some classes, astonishing supremacy of others and fluctuations of still others. In 1874 the saw mill industry of Wayne County was already on the decline. The river front opposite and below the city had been the site of numerous mills for sawing pine lumber and had laid the foundations for a number of comfortable fortunes. The Moffat Block and the Penobscot Building are permanent contributions to the city from the fortunes thus made. In 1874 there were 45 saw mills on the river or in the interior of the county operated by steam and five by water. Some of them were small. The total cut of lumber was 74,000,000 feet, valued at \$1,443,650. This class of mills has totally disappeared from the river front, but

planing mills and sash, door and blind factories have much more than taken their place.

The first blast furnace in the country west of Pittsburgh was set up in Hamtramck by Dr. George B. Russel in 1856. As "The Hamtramck Iron Works", it was one of the most conspicuous landmarks of East Detroit till 1905. About the same time the Eureka Iron & Steel Works and the Wyandotte Rolling Mills were established by Capt. E. B. Ward in Wyandotte, west of the city. The first steel rails rolled in this country and the first Bessemer steel made in the country came from these plants. In 1874 they were the largest single industry operated by Detroit capital and there were predictions that this would become one of the great iron and steel centers of the country. But after Captain Ward's death the Rolling Mills fell upon evil times, the stockholders of the iron works disagreed, part of them took their capital to Chicago and the Wyandotte works were finally abandoned. For many years the fleets of huge iron ore carriers steamed in majestic procession past the very doors of Detroit but left hardly a ton of their cargoes on her docks. The twin blast furnaces on Zug Island and the immense works begun and contemplated by Henry Ford further up the Rouge have revived the hope that this district will yet attain prominence in this respect.

Among the large industries in Detroit in 1874 was that of car building. This afterwards became the largest single line of manufacture in the city. It started in 1853 when George B. Russel and others secured premises on the Gratiot Road and built cars for the Detroit and Pontiac Railroad. In 1874 the existing plants were those owned by the Pullman Car Company in the block bounded by Crogham, St. Aubin and Macomb Streets and the D. & M. Railway, the Detroit Car Company's extensive works on Adair St., the Michigan Car Company at Grand Trunk Junction, the Grand Trunk shops on the river front and the Michigan Central Car Shops. To these were subsequently added the Peninsular Car Works, the building of logging cars by the Russel Wheel and Foundry Co., car wheel

and other subsidiary corporations, and building and repair work by the Detroit United Railway. This industry reached its maximum in 1907 when it employed about 7,000 men and had a product valued at \$28,000,000. Since then the decline has been rapid. Only one of the large plants remains in commission, the Peninsular. In the distribution of work by the American Car and Foundry Co., of which this is one of the constituent parts, it is devoted mainly to general foundry work and to specialties other than car building. In the course of events the Grand Trunk work was moved to Port Huron or Battle Creek, the Pullman Car Works to the neighborhood of Chicago and part of the Michigan Central works to Jackson, while the Michigan Car Works and their subsidiaries were abandoned. Aside from a moderate amount of work done by the two electric railway systems, this once great industry is but little more than a memory.

Aside from car building and the older blast furnaces and iron works, a few other industries that were prominent 50 years ago have declined or passed away. The Waterbury and Detroit Copper Co., was then doing a very prosperous business in smelting Lake Superior ores at the "Copper Dock" in Springwells. The business soon afterwards moved to Lake Linden near the source of the ore supply. The Detroit Locomotive Works then one of the largest foundry and machine shop establishments in the West, gradually wound up the business, though part of its capital went into what are now the Buhl Malleable Works. The Detroit Safe Co. wound up its business and the Diamond Match Co. abandoned this field. The once prominent furniture business has within the past ten years very rapidly declined. The malt and brewery business was large and prosperous from 1874 till 1918, but is now, according to a fiction of law, a thing of the past.

A few of the industries that were prominent in 1874 have added to Detroit's fame and prosperity continuously since that time. The first brass foundry in the city was established by Solomon Davie in 1833. In 1855 the business was purchased

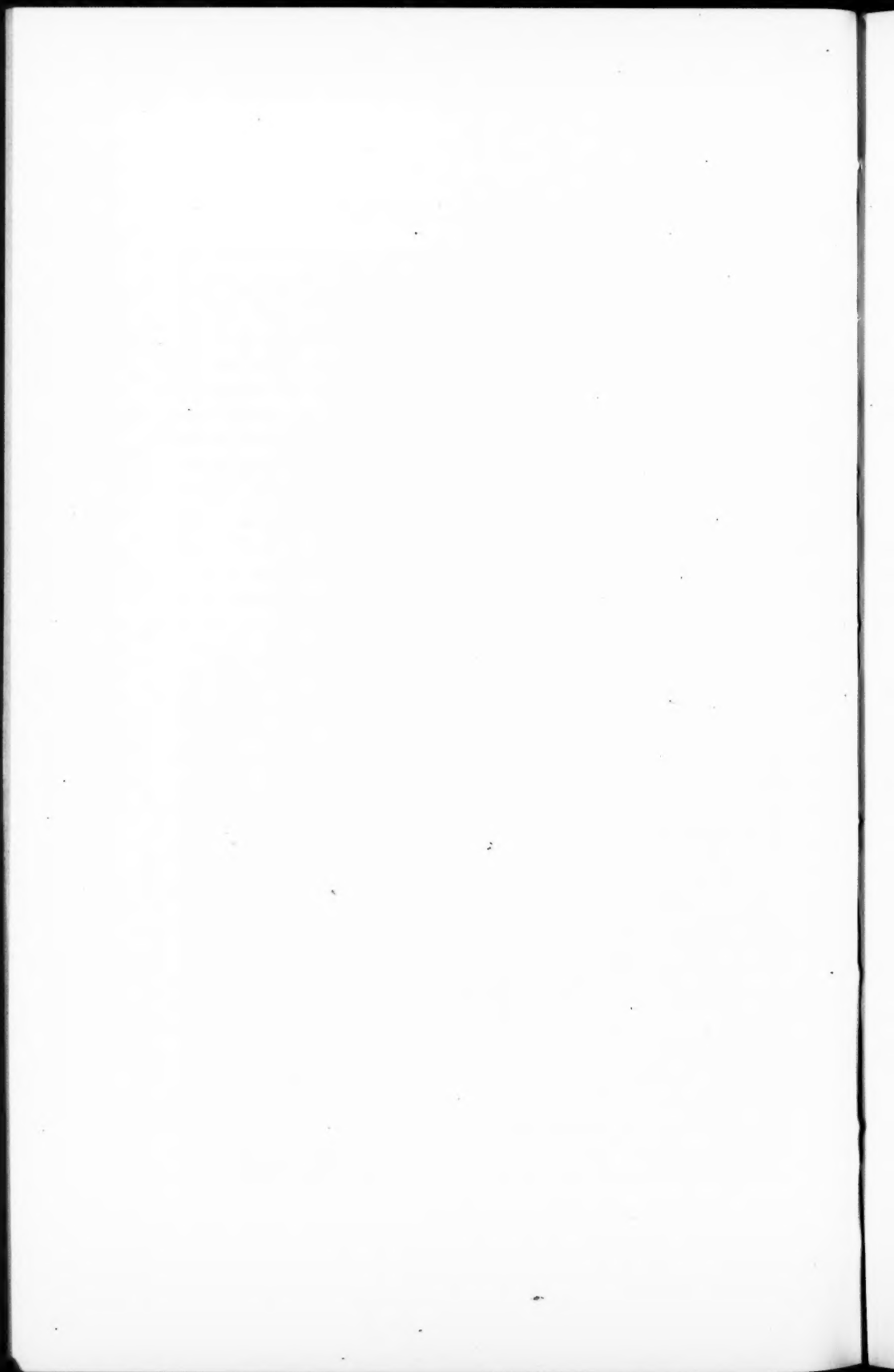
by Andrew Harvey and is still in existence at the same location on Woodbridge St., the present title of the firm being A. Harvey's Sons. The growth of this industry has been continuous and it received a great impetus when the automobile came into the field, requiring a number of brass parts. Tubal Cain, the ancient "instructor of every artifice in brass," has now many thousand worthy followers manipulating this oldest of composite metals. There are now in the city two large brass and copper rolling mills and over 50 companies that make or manipulate the metal with a product valued at over \$50,000,000. Detroit is now the second city in the country in this industry.

Stove making in Detroit dates back to 1861 when Jeremiah and James Dwyer, brothers, with Edwin S. Barbour and others incorporated the Detroit Stove Works. In 1871 the Michigan Stove Company was organized with Charles Ducharme as President, Jeremiah Dwyer, vice president and general manager and George H. Barbour Secretary. The Peninsular Stove Company was incorporated in 1881 and three or four smaller companies followed later. For over half a century this has been one of the most stable and prosperous of Detroit's industries. The works have rarely closed down nor often skipped a dividend. For 40 years Detroit companies in this line have led those of every other city in the country in the number of styles made, the territory covered by their trade, and the volume of their business. An interesting fact in this connection is the extent to which the families of the original founders have retained their connection with the business. The names of Dwyer, Barbour and Ducharme frequently occur in the lists of officers of the three large companies.

There are a number of other lines of manufacture in which a single small establishment was functioning in 1874 but which loom large in the present business of Detroit. Berry Bros. had a small establishment on Leib St. It has grown in the same location until now it is the largest varnish factory in the country. The Detroit Dry Dock Co., represented a business



Chamber of Commerce, 1896



which was started at the foot of Orleans street in the '50's. It has operated continuously at the same location with additional yards on other sites. It has built almost every type of vessel including the largest and finest passenger sidewheeler that ever floated on any waters. In 1874 Samuel F. Hodge was running a business which has since developed into the Great Lakes Engineering Works, builders of many of the largest freighters on the Lakes. For 20 years past Detroit has divided with the Cleveland district the major part of vessel construction on the Lakes.

In 1874 John J. Bagley & Co., and Scotten & Lovett were the best known tobacco manufacturers in the West, and with slight changes of name are still leaders in their respective lines. Parke Davis & Co., had attained considerable prominence in their line and are now the largest manufacturers of non proprietary medicines and druggists' supplies in the country, and the city as a whole has the same predominance in those lines.

The following were all prominent 50 years ago and their business has been continuous, though with a number of changes of names, Hammond and Standish meats; Boydell Bros. and Detroit White Lead Works, paints; Croul Bros. and Traugott Schmidt, tanning; Henkel and Voorhies, flouring mill, now the Commercial Mills; Calvert Lithographing Company; John Brennan, Detroit Bridge & Iron Wks., Detroit Gas Light Co., Michigan Bolt and Nut Works, D. M. Ferry & Co., C. D. Widman & Co., Michigan Wire Works.

Many new lines of manufacture have taken the place of the old decadent ones. In 1887 before the Eureka Iron Co. passed away, the directors in order to solve the question of fuel conducted a series of borings for natural gas. They went down 2640 feet without finding gas, but went through a solid stratum, 320 feet thick, of the purest salt. This discovery brought hither Capt. J. B. Ford of Pittsburgh who spent a million dollars or more in developing a new process for changing the salt to soda ash. His final success resulted in the

construction of the Michigan Alkali plants in Wyandotte and Ford. The Solvay Process Co. came afterwards in the same line of industry and the Michigan Rock Salt Co., and other alkali plants are founded upon the same saline deposit. The Ford Building in Detroit was built with the profits of this industry, and the results of its development have been widely felt. In 1893 before the first alkali plant was built the imports of soda ash and kindred alkalis amounted to 734,000,000 pounds. In six years they dwindled to about 50,000,000 pounds. The down-river district in Wayne County largely supplies the country's demand, and furnishes some for export.

As Detroit has assumed great prominence in brass manufacture, so it was among the first in the field in the making and manipulation of the new metal aluminum. It is the leading city in the country in the manufacture of malleable iron. Its new iron and steel products cover a wide range. In the making of computing machines it not only has the largest single plant but the largest aggregate business of any city in the country. It has developed the manufacture of gas engines to an extent greater than any other city whether for use in motor boat, motor car or aeroplane; it was the first to build all metal airplanes and bids fair to become prominent in other forms of that construction. It is among the first in the country in the making of machine tools, "tools not otherwise specified", and other grades of fine machine shop work. Its general foundry and machine shop products are the second in rank among its largest industries.

In the largest of its modern industries Detroit should be considered, not entirely by itself, but partly in relation to other cities in the State. It was not by luck or accident that Detroit came to be the leading city, and Michigan the leading state, in the making of automobiles. The State and a neighboring town in Northern Indiana led the country in the making of carriages and wagons, and the carriage factories could readily turn to the making of the wheels, springs, bodies, tops and upholstering of the new vehicles. Detroit was making

more gas engines than any other city in the world, and had factories available for the manufacture of the malleable iron, steel and brass parts required. It had men with capital, enterprise, the vision and courage required for the new venture. Above all there were two men with the mechanical genius and patient research required to work out results. R. E. Olds of Lansing and Henry Ford of Detroit both worked for years upon the problem of a vehicle propelled by power generated within itself. Both first figured upon steam and both settled finally upon gasoline as the motive power. As far as Detroit was concerned Mr. Olds was first ready with a public venture as the results of his work.

In 1899 he built the Olds Motor Works on Concord Avenue, Detroit, and put the Oldsmobile on the market. This establishment was continued till 1906 when the business was combined with that already existing at Lansing. The success of the Olds establishment led a number of Detroit capitalists to organize a much larger company which was incorporated as the Cadillac in 1901; the Packard followed in 1903, and the same year the Ford Motor Co., was incorporated and commanded in a very small way, the manufacture of cars.

There is not space in a single paper for a detailed account of the growth of this industry which is now the second or third largest in the country, and by all odds, the largest in Detroit and in the automobile towns of Flint, Lansing and Pontiac. It first appeared as a separate class in the U. S. Census Bulletins in 1904 when it was represented in Detroit by 17 establishments, 2,232 employes and a product valued at \$6,240,000. This was less than four percent of all the industrial employes in the city, and less than 5% of the whole product. In 1909 the number of employes in this industry had increased to 17,373 and the value of the product to \$59,536,000. The next year, 1910, witnessed the organization of several new companies and the expansion of most of the old ones. From this period dates the unparalleled growth which has been the marvel of the age. In 1919 according to

the report of the State Labor Department, the number of industrial employes within the city limits of Detroit was 308,520. Of these 140,000 or 45% were in the automobile industry and the value of the product was over a billion dollars. The factories manufacturing or assembling cars numbered 30 and those whose sole principal business was the making of auto parts or accessories numbered 165.

After a period of depression covering most of 1921, another period of unprecedented activity set in. The immense business of the Ford Motor and traction interests which were almost the sole support of Highland Park, has created a new industrial center in the River Rouge, which is outside Detroit's city limits but closely connected with its business. The number of industrial employes in the metropolitan district as thus enlarged was at the height of business in 1923 nearly 400,000. Of these about half were in the automobile and accessory factories and over 100,000 in the employ of the Ford. The number of cars put out was a little short of 2,500,000 or about 60% of all those produced in the country.

It is difficult to visualize what these figures mean. Some of the factories work 10 hours a day, more work nine and the Ford plants work two or three shifts of eight hours each. If the work was reduced to a uniform basis of nine hours a day, and 300 days in the year, the production of two and a half million cars would mean one every four seconds. If these cars were started in procession, with 40 feet distance from the front of one car to the front of the next, and that is pretty close order, they would make a line 18,940 miles long or about five times the distance across this continent.

Up to the time when this branch of manufacture was inaugurated, Detroit was about keeping pace in growth with the other Lake cities, a little faster than Buffalo or Milwaukee, but not quite as fast as Cleveland. It was also behind St. Louis, Boston and Baltimore. It is the impetus of this industry that has given it third place in manufactures and fourth place in population.

Aside from its immediate influence on material growth the automobile industry has had far reaching effects. The makers and users of cars have been at the very forefront of the good roads movement in county, state and nation. Moved largely by these classes of its members the Detroit Board of Commerce in 1910 conducted a campaign for a two million dollar loan for improving the roads throughout Wayne County. It has, ever since, given the commissioners good backing, until now Wayne is said to have the most complete road system of any county in the country. The auto makers, users and clubs have been sturdy supporters to the movement which has carried the good roads system through the State. One of the Detroit motor pioneers, Mr. Henry B. Joy, has been one of the chief promoters of the Lincoln Highway across the continent.

This industry has also, by creating a community of interest, knit the different cities closer together. The Studebaker has brought Detroit and South Bend, just over the Indiana border, into intimate relations. Detroit has shared with Lansing interest in the Olds enterprises. The General Motors, organized mainly through the genius of two citizens of Flint has affiliated plants in all of the Michigan automobile towns and in a score of locations in other states. The Ford interests contribute to the prosperity of a dozen Michigan towns, have assembling plants in several other states and in foreign countries. The share holders of the larger companies are numbered by the thousands, and a large proportion of the thrifty people in the automobile cities are holders of stock.

The manufacturers of Detroit are the largest contributors to its foreign trade. The drug firms search the world over for their crude material, and send their finished products to every country in which there are pains to alleviate or diseases to cure. Detroit made automobiles go to every country that has any system of improved highways. A United States bulletin contained the names of over 70 countries, colonies and dependencies to which we were sending cars, and Detroit was represented in nearly all of them. Siam, Iceland and the

Faroe Islands, were some of the remote countries reached. The Burroughs Adding Machine Co., sends its products to every country that has any system of commercial accounting. Ready mixed paints, which originated in Detroit, have a wide distribution. British South Africa has for many years furnished a market for Detroit made machinery; Detroit made gas engines are used for propulsion in all lands and on all waters. These are only examples. The Board of Commerce has a list of 250 firms that send some form of their product to foreign parts.

One of the most important committees of the Board of Commerce in the first three years of its history was that on manufacturers. One of the main purposes of a commercial body at that time was considered to be the bringing of new industries to a city, even if this was done at the expense of a sister city. It was a period of bonus giving, tax exemption, free site and free water inducements, and the new board was speedily called upon to decide how far it would go in these directions. There was nothing in the Detroit charter which permitted the city to grant any special privileges to a new company, and the directors decided that they would keep within the same limitations as those imposed upon municipalities.

There was another question which was the occasion of much more discussion, and that was whether the Board should take measures to investigate the merits of new enterprises offered with a view to endorsement or stock promotion. It was urged as an alternative proposition that an industrial trust company should be incorporated for the purpose of financing new manufacturing enterprises. The latter idea found favor, but was never carried out. The general proposition of endorsement and stock promotion of manufacturing enterprises was warmly discussed by three different directorates of the Detroit Board of Commerce, but was always decided in the negative.

In the absence of such artificial inducements, the Directors formulated other ways in which they might be serviceable. They took the view that the best way in which they could help

Detroit industrially was to make it a convenient city in which to do business and a pleasant city in which to live. On the civic side the Board did its utmost to secure good municipal administration, good educational and recreational opportunities, good housing conditions, a low rate of taxation and a small city debt. On the business side some of its best work has been, from that time to this, that which relates to transportation. It has done much to promote good feeling and co-operation between the shippers and the State railroad commissioners. It has done its best to secure new freight stations, yards, sidings and team tracks. For individual concerns it has helped to secure private spur tracks and has supplied information about rates on their special raw materials and products.

The Manufacturers' Committee for several years kept a list of available factory sites obtained from owners and real estate dealers, and by this means facilitated the purchase of many sites at very reasonable rates. One of the earliest and most notable cases in which the Board rendered valued service was that of the Arithmometer Company of St. Louis. The officers of that company were desirous of leaving St. Louis, chiefly to get away from the unreasonable exactions of the Labor Unions which practically controlled the industries of the town. This Board had an extended correspondence with the officers of the company, and when decision was finally made in favor of Detroit, it aided the company in looking up a site and in making other arrangements. The company built the first unit of its plant here, and then, on special trains, brought its machinery and 253 workmen, many of them with families and household goods. They arrived in the afternoon and such was the efficiency of this Board's real estate committee that they were all comfortably housed the same night, many of them in houses which they afterwards bought. That company is now the Burroughs Adding Machine Company with over 6,000 employ  s and an output valued at about \$30,000,000 a year. At a later period a similar service was

rendered to the Timken Axle Company which came here from Canton, Ohio, with machinery and 150 families.

During the few years commencing with 1903 the following companies in addition to the two mentioned moved to Detroit from other cities; Packard Motor Car Co., Morgan & Wright, Hayes Manufacturing Co., E. R. Thomas Co., afterwards changed to the Chalmers, Continental Motor, the Hinkley Co., now the Bowen Products Co., Gemmer Mfg. Co., McCord Mfg. Co., Lillies Cigar Co., Long Mfg. Co., Northways Motors and Manufacturing Co., Allyne Mfg. Co., subsequently developed into the Aluminum Castings Co. The 15 largest companies thus moving had when they started in Detroit a total of 4,129 employees. Their maximum total in 1920 was over 51,000. Several of these companies were drawn here by the automobile industry and would have come here anyway, but in nearly every case their movement was either induced or greatly facilitated by the work of Board of Commerce Committees.

But the Board does not always guess right. In the early days of the automobile movement Mr. Buick of the old firm of Buick and Sherwood, started an auto factory on Lafayette St. West. His prospects were good, but he had not sufficient capital. He applied to this Board for aid in raising \$100,000 additional but was turned down. He got in touch with Flint capitalists who took the required amount of stock and moved to that city. The inaction of this Board in the matter occasioned some criticism, and the Chairman of the Executive Committee replied that the Board was always ready to aid any enterprises that promised merit. Events since then have confirmed the residents of Flint in the opinion that the Buick had some merit.

About twenty years ago occurred a strike in the eastern part of the city that had far-reaching results. The company affected filled the place of the strikers with non-union men and scenes of violence followed. Strikers in large numbers assumed a threatening attitude about the factory, and assaulted some of the new workmen on their way to the street

cars and even at their homes. Some of the offenders were arrested, but let off under suspended sentences, and the police interfered but little with the disorderly strikers. After a long contest the company under some official pressure, yielded, and the Superintendent of police hastened to convey the information to the strikers prefacing the announcement with the statement, "Friends, I have good news for you." This yielding to bludgeon rule, and evident sympathy of court and police with the strikers, aroused manufacturing executives to action for self protection, and the representatives of 15 of the largest concerns forthwith started an organization for that purpose. That was the origin of the Employers' Association which now has in its membership the executives of establishments giving employment to nearly 250,000 industrial workers, or about two-thirds of all factory workers in the metropolitan district. This association has done more to make Detroit an open shop town than any other agency.

Its platform of principles provides that no discrimination shall be made against any man by reason of his membership or want of membership in any society or organization, but established the following conditions:

Subject to any right under contract existing between them it is the privilege of both the employer and the employe to terminate their relations whenever either sees fit to do so. Since the employer is responsible for the work turned out by his workmen he must have full discretion to designate the men he considers competent to perform the work and to determine the methods under which that work shall be performed. The question of the competency of the men, and the number of foremen, apprentices, helpers, handymen, etc., to be employed will be determined solely by the employer.

In the operation of any system of hours or wages, now in force or to be extended or established in the future, this association will not countenance any conditions which are not just or which will not allow a workman to earn a wage proportionate to his production capacity.

No limitation by fellow employes or any organization, of the quantity or value of work an employe may accomplish in a given time will be permitted or tolerated. Foremen shall be the agents of the employer.

This platform it will be noticed not only left the companies free in the employment of men, but absolutely free from rules regarding the distribution of work and from limitations upon individual or total production. The result has been the highest average rate of wages of any city in the world, and, as the census enumeration shows, a very high production per man. Since it came into full operation the city has had very few strikes and none of long duration.

Another very important service which the Association has rendered is in the work of its free employment Bureau. It has served as a clearing house between the employers and men seeking work. In the 15 years ending last December it directed 514,558 persons to employment. In 1917 alone 75,404 were cared for. It publishes weekly reports showing the exact number of men on the pay rolls of its members, and graphic charts showing variations in employment from month to month.

The organization has also pretty much eliminated the practice formerly sometimes indulged in by manufacturers of hiring men away from each other. It has brought about intimate and friendly relations between the executives of the leading industries, and has promoted a co-operative spirit, both as regards their men and public interests. It was a forerunner of the Michigan Manufacturers' Association which has performed a like service for the State at large.

In the consideration of this subject one cannot help noting the prominence which the means of transportation have had in Detroit industrial life. The Holland submarine, built on the Rouge, is believed to have been the first under seacraft to work successfully. The yards in this vicinity have built almost every type of rail, steam and gasoline craft. Detroit factories have been at the front in the making of land carriers, for the dirt road, the steam railway and the concrete highways; most of the motors for army planes during the war were made in Detroit and the best type of commercial aeroplane yet produced is the all metal plane very recently perfected.

The city's triumph on the water and on land are supplemented by those in the air.

The resourcefulness of Detroit manufacturers was strikingly illustrated during the World War. Before the United States entered the war, industries in this city had filled large contracts for supplies to the Allies, and these had taken a variety of forms. A number of brass and iron plants had taken on a great amount of new work in making munitions and the larger automobile plants had developed new types especially adapted to use at the front. Trucks, ambulances, officers' and managers' cars by the thousand were made here and sent across the waters, and new construction was created in many minor articles of war use.

With the entry of the United States into the field, this work was increased many-fold and in a few cases it was spectacular in its development. The Liberty Motor for aeroplanes was an exclusively Detroit production, automotive engineers playing the greatest part in its development. The Packard Motor Car Co. alone spent half a million dollars in its development and the Ford and Cadillac experts shared in the work. Before the details were completed the Lincoln Motor Co. was organized, a factory nearly a quarter of a mile long was built with almost magical speed, and in a very few months the motors were in use. Over 90 percent of all the aeroplane motors built in the country were turned out in Detroit.

In October, 1917, the Government sought takers for a large ordnance contract requiring special machinery and speed in construction. Almost over night a company was organized. It was soon afterwards taken over by Dodge Brothers who undertook the whole work. They purchased a vacant tract well outside the city and within 24 hours had a spur track from the Terminal Railroad running through the grounds. They set the Bethlehem Steel Co. at work on structural iron, secured the extension of water mains, sewers and a street car line, completed excavation for a building within 30 days, and kept the work of construction going through the coldest winter ex-

perienced in 40 years. Before the end of March they started machinery going in a building 600 by 800 feet, covering 11 acres. Their initial contract amounted to \$30,000,000.

In another case a large contract for shells was taken by Detroit men who organized a new Company, put up the money, took over a plant that was under construction and were soon at work on another \$30,000,000 contract.

The American Car and Foundry Company remodeled their whole immense plant, increased their working force from 7,000 to 14,000 and put in many months work on army vehicles and supplies, first for the British and then for the American Government.

The two big shipbuilding companies in Detroit, which had specialized in passenger boats and big freighters for use in these waters turned their attention to the construction of vessels for Atlantic coast use or over seas service. They built the largest vessels that would pass through the Canadian canals and also sawed a few of the larger vessels in two, towed the sections through the canals, and put them together again at Montreal. They enlarged their yards and accelerated their work. The launching of four boats, each of 200 feet length, was their Fourth of July contribution to the American fleet.

These are the most noted examples. There were in all over 200 factories in Detroit engaged in war work. The contracts made with the U. S. Government in 1917-18 aggregated about \$900,000,000. After the armistice the factories returned with almost equal celerity to peace construction.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Michigan!
I love you, Michigan.
Your name upon my ear falls sweet and musical.
I love your plains—
Your hills that flaunt their glory wide.
Your lakes—
That stretch in never-ending sea of blue.
Your forests—
Sacred,
Quiet,
Dark-green against an azure sky.
I love your roads—
Your broad free roads that lead the traveler on and on.
And, O! your towns—
That smile upon the world in sheer delight of living.
Your cities—
Marvelous—
In strength and beauty built.
But most of all I love your true, deep-hearted people,
Michigan.

(By Inez Culver Corbin in *Michigan Education Journal*, May, 1926.)

THE past months have witnessed some very pleasant pioneer reunions. Accounts of some of them have been sent to us, all of them filled with the good old-fashioned cheer of pot-luck suppers and open-air picnic dinners. Highly commendable efforts have been made by some of these groups to further specific projects in local historical work.

An early date, Washington's Birthday, was chosen by the Shiawassee County Historical Society for its annual meeting. The court house at Corunna was crowded to the doors and standing room was at a premium. There were many interesting papers and addresses including those of Prosecutor Leon F. Miner, Judge Mathew Bush and the Rev. A. R. Gould. One of the Society's projects is to erect a memorial marker near

Knaggs' Bridge where the first white settlers in the county located. They were A. L. and B. O. Williams who established a trading post there in 1828. Officers elected for the current year are Robert Dutcher, President; Charles Shipman, vice-president; Mrs. Etta Killian, historian; Mrs. Glen Haggerty, secretary.

Old time residents of Oakland County heard recollections of early days and tapped their feet to the merry strains of ye old-fashioned jig and reel at the fifty-second annual meeting of the Oakland County Pioneer and Historical Society last February. There were 180 present at the noon banquet, following which officers for the year were elected. James H. Lynch of Pontiac was re-elected president of the organization; Mrs. Elizabeth Paddock, first vice-president; W. D. Clizbee, second vice-president; Thomas Frost, third vice-president; Mrs. Lillian D. Avery, Secretary; Mrs. Katherine Greenhalgh, acting-secretary; Jay Guy Newton, treasurer; and Trustees, Mrs. Elizabeth Wigg, Mrs. C. N. Andrews, Mrs. Birdie P. Webster, Homer H. Colvin, Mrs. Lucy Gerls. Former Justice Joseph B. Moore who retired from the Michigan Supreme Court on Jan. 1 last prepared for the meeting a very interesting paper on his early experiences at Walled Lake.

The month of March was the rallying time for the Montcalm County Pioneer Association at Stanton. The president, Dan Fisher, called the meeting to order and every mind seemed ready for the fellowship and sentiment of the occasion. Officers were chosen as follows: P. D. Edsall, president; Avery Marks, vice-president; Mrs. Myra Shaw, secretary; Mrs. E. J. Bowman, treasurer. After the business meeting the folks adjourned to the church dining room for the banquet during which they were entertained with music and reminiscences.

Berrien County's unique type of pioneer society, to which only those who have resided in the county for fifty years are eligible, held its annual reunion in March. At that time 98 aged pioneers convened at the Methodist Peace Temple of Benton Harbor where singing and good fellowship filled the

hours with pleasant memories as the members renewed old friendships and swapped yarns. The dean of them all was 92 year old Sam L. Tudor, of Berrien Springs, who had spent 91 years in the county. T. B. Wynn, 87 years old came next, with Milo Hyde, of 769 Superior street running a close second to him with 86 birthdays to his credit. Mr. Hyde has a son, D. L. Hyde, who is also a member of the club, Eli Helmick, until recently a Berrien resident, has passed 86 birthdays and still feels "great." Sam Wise, of Bainbridge, a former deputy sheriff has been 82 years in the county, and passed 83 birthdays. James Brant, of Royalton township boasts 80 years. And the ladies—well, they were all past 16 anyway! Many of them showed traces of many years of toil, and love and happiness. There was "Ma" Gillette, well known in Benton Harbor, Mary Barker, of Fair Plain, Emma Versaw of Washington street, and many others too numerous to mention. The members of the club gathered in the morning, and elected officers. Horace Taber, serving during the past two years as president, presided. Si Caldwell was chosen to head the organization for the coming year, and George Morton, secretary, and John Seel treasurer, were re-elected to the offices they have held during the past year.

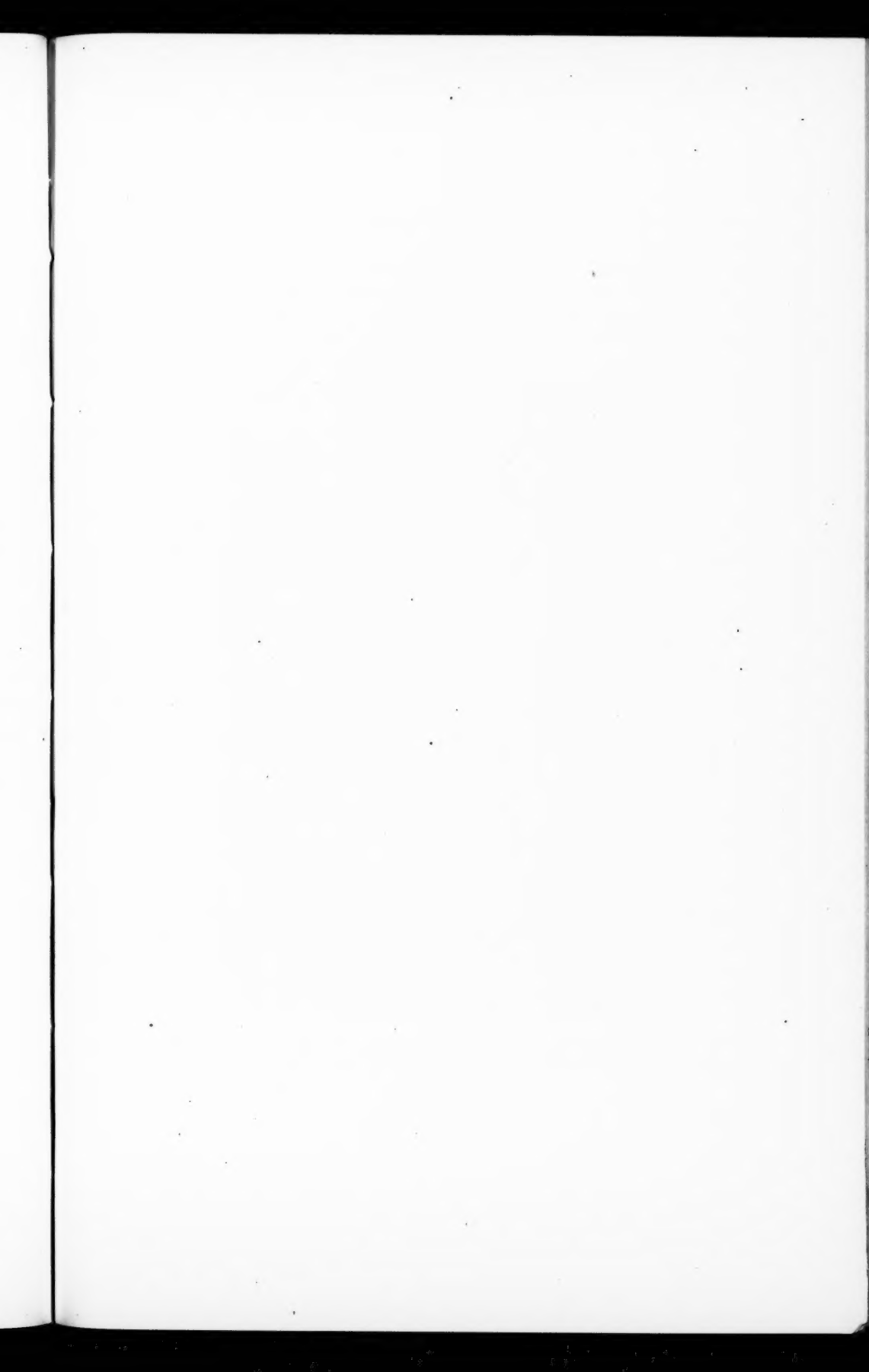
The Bay County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Bay City in May. One of the important projects reported was the assembling of historical relics in the show cases of the Michigan room at the Public Library. Mrs. Irene Pomeroy Shields told of the Society's work in establishing a room at the Northeastern Michigan Fair Grounds as a rest room for old settlers. Attention was also called to a bound volume of examination papers by 7th and 8th grade pupils of 1876. This volume is now in the library of the local high school. The Society elected the following officers to carry on the work of the coming year: President, George E. Butterfield; first vice-president, Mrs. Irene Pomeroy Shields; second vice-president, Wm. F. Jennison; third vice-president, Frank L. Westover; treasurer, Miss Frances H. Merrill; secretary, Mrs. Homer E.

Buck; historian, Mrs. Mary Malone; curator, W. H. Gustin, directors, William L. Clements, John Donovan, Mrs. H. J. Daily, John L. Stoddard, Homer E. Buck, Mrs. F. C. Kelton and the officers.

Prof. Lew Allen Chase was the speaker at the dinner meeting of the Kalamazoo County Historical Society in May. His subject was "Aims and Methods in Local Historical Work." He strongly urged the securing of financial aid from boards of supervisors for promoting local historical work. Prof. Chase discussed this same subject at the State Society's meeting at Holland, and the paper will be published in the Magazine at a later date. Officers were elected at the dinner meeting, Mrs. C. W. Oakley being chosen again as president. Assisting her are Mrs. H. Clare Jackson, vice-president; Mrs. Warren Carlton, recording secretary; Miss Gertrude den Bleyker, corresponding secretary; L. H. Stoddard, treasurer; Mrs. Cornelia Cummings, assistant treasurer, and E. J. Stevens, historian.

The Three Oaks Historical Society held its annual Pioneers' Day in May. The day was organized so as to give time for the inspection of the Chamberlain Memorial Museum in the morning, pot-luck dinner at noon, with music furnished by the Three Oaks Community Orchestra playing old-time tunes. The more formal program of business and reminiscences was held over for the afternoon session. A unique item of the session was a guessing contest by the audience. Certain articles made and used by pioneers of the region were exhibited, and the audience was given an opportunity of telling what the articles were used for.

MARY A. S. ROBERTS, chairman of the Michigan History Department of the North West District, Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, writes that an effort is being made in the district to establish a permanent Historical Association in Grand Traverse County to be affiliated with the State Historical Society.





From the reader's left to right: Mayor Otto L. Sprague, Miss Lena Estelle Gregory, Mr. Fred H. Gould, Mrs. Harriet Dewey Welch, Att'y Van R. Pond.

HUNDREDS of people witnessed the Clinton County Historical Pageant, a feature of St. Johns' "Old Home Week", August 3-4-5. More than 400 Clinton County people took part as members of the cast. Pioneer and Indian episodes were realistically presented and the pageant closed with a musical cantata by a chorus of 1,000 school children.

ON June 23 the city of Monroe turned back the pages of its picturesque history and lived again the days of long ago. The mile-long parade in which virtually every merchant in town was represented by a float, and the evening's pageant, were the two most spectacular features of the celebration. The pageant was comprehensive. Episodes of progress in political and industrial development followed the early historical scenes of Indian and pioneer days.

ON June 9 the Shiawassee Chapter D. A. R. unveiled at Owosso a bronze tablet commemorating the two founders of that city, A. L. and B. O. Williams. The tablet, set into a large boulder, stands on Fayette Square, a plat of ground set aside by the two brothers for a park when the city was first planned. Miss Lena Estelle Gregory, historian of the Shiawassee Chapter had charge of the program and introduced Van R. Pond, city attorney, who outlined the early history of the city. Mrs. Fred H. Gould donated the boulder. The tablet was unveiled by Mrs. Harriet Dewey Welch, granddaughter of Alfred L. Williams, and was accepted for the city by Mayor Sprague.

THE semi-centennial celebration of Custer's last stand in the famous battle of the Little Big Horn has drawn comment nation-wide. The commemoration exercises were held on the 25th of June last, upon the original battle site and were participated in by Whites and Indians alike. The story of that gallant encounter against overwhelming odds is too well known to historical readers to need recounting here. Probably it will never fail to quicken our pulses with a sympathetic enthusiasm which many a more important battle fails to give.

George Armstrong Custer, it will be remembered, was at one time a resident of Monroe, Michigan. It was there in 1863 that he first met Elizabeth Bacon, later to become Mrs. Custer. The city of Monroe in 1913 erected in the city a fine equestrian memorial to the memory of General Custer.

ROBERT P. JAMES, a veteran of the Civil War, who died in Kalamazoo on March 3, aged 93 years, was the last charter member of Orcutt Post, G. A. R. He served in the 6th Mich. Cavalry of Custer's Brigade. He was in 65 engagements and escaped without a scratch. He was in five rebel prisons, most notably Andersonville, where 12,000 boys, stripped of their "blue" died from starvation and disease, in squalor and despair. Horrors without parallel. Boys in desperation would cross the dead line purposely to be shot and end their misery. Some in delirium would stray across the line and be shot. The gushing forth of Providence spring seemed a miraculous event. Comrade James emerged from prison emaciated to a skeleton, but "by reason of great strength" survived to a remarkable age. He was a Knight Templar in Masonry, a devoted Christian and was buried with Masonic and military honors.—*From S. H. Carlton, Kalamazoo.*

HENRY D. C. VAN ASMUS, old time newspaper man of Grand Rapids, who died March 13, was born in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1843. His father, an officer of the Dutch Army, attained the rank of General and rendered important service to his government while stationed for twelve years on the island of Java. Mr. Van Asmus received his education in Amsterdam and in Batavia. At the outbreak of the Civil War he resigned his commission as a sub-ordinate officer of the Dutch Army and came to the United States to enlist as a private in the famous 79th New York Volunteers. Soon afterward he was detailed for service as a secret agent of the general government and continued in that employment until the close of the war. true.

After the war Mr. Van Asmus came to Grand Rapids and entered the employ of the street railway company. During the following year he purchased a newspaper, *De Stoompest*, which was printed in the Dutch language and continued its publication several years. Americans born of Dutch parents did not take much interest in such newspapers and as the old heads of families passed out of life there were not many to support *De Stoompest*. An offer of employment tendered by the Superintendent of the Grand River Valley (now Michigan Central) railroad was accepted by Mr. Van Asmus and during the years he remained with that corporation he was located for a time at Holland as station master of the Grand Rapids and Holland railroad, operated by the Grand River Valley, railroad company. Later he organized the Grand Rapids Furniture Manufacturers' Association and held the office of secretary several years. During that period he induced the railroad associations to increase the minimum weight on carloads of furniture from 12,000 to 20,000 pounds. Furniture is bulky but not heavy, compared with other freights, such as grain, coal, and iron ore. He also induced managers of railroads to provide larger cars to shippers of furniture than were those commonly in use. At that time Mr. Van Asmus founded the Grand Rapids Board of Trade and served that organization

as its secretary 25 years. He was also the secretary of the Pythian Building Company, and supervised the erection of the first sky scraper in Grand Rapids in 1892-3. The building was occupied by the Pythian Fraternity and by manufacturers of furniture. He also served the Lyon credit agency several years as the manager of its local department. About 20 years ago Mr. Van Asmus moved from Grand Rapids to South Bend, Ind., he having been elected secretary of the Board of Trade of that city, where he remained two years. An opportunity to purchase a valuable publishing business in Chicago was presented, and Mr. Van Asmus joined his son-in-law, H. C. Bunting, in the acquirement of the property. Several years later the printing department of the firm was moved to Waukegan, Ill., and Mr. Van Asmus purchased a home at Lake Bluff, where he lived until death terminated a busy, useful life, on March 18, 1926.

Deceased was highly esteemed in the communities in which his life was spent. He was communicant of Westminster Presbyterian Church, Grand Rapids, during his residence in that city.—*Written by Arthur S. White, Grand Rapids.*

copy. **J**OHAN LANE, representative from the First District of Berrien County to the Michigan Legislature, 1901-2 and 1903-4, who died at Benton Harbor on April 29, was long active in Republican politics and became known at Lansing as "Honest John" Lane from Berrien.

Mr. Lane was long a resident of St. Joseph township, where his farm was one of the best known spots in that part of the county. He followed the business of farming most of his years, leaving the farm only when his advancing years made it impossible for him to work steadily. He was one of the early-day fruit growers of Berrien.

Mr. Lane was an ardent Mason. He was affiliated with the Blue Lodge, the chapter and also Malta Commandery, Knights Templar.

Soldier, farmer, legislator, Mason and good citizen, "Uncle John" Lane was a pioneer of Berrien. He had lived within the border of the county 73 years, coming to Berrien in 1853. He was born in Livingston county, Kentucky, April 12, 1843. When a young man Mr. Lane resided in Benton Harbor; later he moved to St. Joseph and still later to his farm in St. Joseph township. Of recent years he had made Benton Harbor his home.

For several years Mr. Lane occupied a post at Washington, a position which he secured through his personal friend, the late Senator Charles E. Townsend.

Enlisting at the outbreak of the Civil war, Mr. Lane served nearly two years with Company G, Sixth Wisconsin Infantry, a unit of the "Iron Brigade." He was wounded at the battle of Antietam, was later discharged because of his wounds and then later reenlisted in Company B, Sixth Michigan Infantry, serving until the close of the war. He rose from the ranks of the enlisted men to be a corporal. He served through a number of historic Civil war engagements, including the battles of Cedar Mountain, Gainesville, South Mountain and the second battle of Bull Run. He was also in the McDowell campaign in Virginia.

Always an ardent patriot, the old soldier's blood was fired anew with patriotism when the World war broke out and he repeatedly declared that his greatest regret was that he couldn't get into the scrap. For the World war boys "Uncle John" held a deep affection, and will be deeply missed from his old accustomed places.—*News Palladium*.

Editor Michigan History Magazine:

I HAVE read with a great deal of pleasure Mr. Ivan Swift's article on Alexander MacGulpin in the Michigan History Magazine and wonder if any of your readers know anything

further of "MacGulpin History." I have been somewhat interested in the name myself, for these reasons—

I have been searching in unknown Ionia county history for some years, tracing it out from little beginnings—and found out the very interesting story of an early fur trader in Ionia Co.—whose wife, so the Madison, Wis. Historical Librarian wrote me was Angetique McGulpin, of a prominent McGulpin family of Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence river between Montreal and Quebec. He was established at his post on Grand River 7 miles east of Ionia by 1798 as I have a photostat copy from a page in his fur-trading letter naming that date.

Also in the spring of 1833, there was a Mathew McGulpin at this same location as he signed the first petition sent from Ionia Co. to the Territorial Legislature—it being a request to send a commission fixing the county seat there.

I was in Three Rivers last summer but could find no trace of a McGulpin family there, and have now sent to Ottawa, Canada to the history dept. to see if I can find trace.

I have read Andrew Blackbird's book—and tried to find out if he was a grandson of Kish-Kaw-ko—the chief of the Indians with whom Gen. Cass concluded the Saginaw treaty in 1819. Ionia was the first town founded north of Jackson and west of Pontiac, and begun by the arrival here on May 28th 1833 of the "Samuel Dexter" colony of 63 people from Eastern New York—the first colonizing party through from Detroit—and west of "Shiawassee" they procured the services of Mack-a-te-pe-na-ce—son of Kish-kaw-ko to guide them through certain marshes—and his name meant "Blackbird"—but Andrew Blackbird was dead and his wife could not inform me.

MRS. L. P. BROCK,
409 Univ. Street,
Ionia, Michigan.

Ch. His. Com. S. T. M. Chap. D. A. R.

Ch. His. Com. Hall-Fowler Memorial Library.

Editor Michigan History Magazine:

I AM glad to know that you see signs of utility in the Story article and you may be pleased to know that I am inclined to make a desperate attempt on Bob Ross whom I regard as the most picturesque figure in Michigan Journalism, not excepting all the better known men, like M. Quad, Mortimer Thomson who achieved fame in the east as "Q. K.," "Philander Doesticks," and "P. B.," and wrote a double-edged poetic satire called "Plu-ri-bus-tah" which nicked Longfellow's *Hiawatha* on one side and some of our cherished historical traditions on the other. I picked it up not long ago and had a good laugh. Thompson was a Detroit newspaper man before he went to New York. And there was A. Miner Griswold who made the nation laugh for a spell with his articles by the "Fat Contributor." There was James S. Cole, a sort of Michigan Keats or Chatterton, who wrote poetry that won the admiration of New York newspapers although most of it was printed in Michigan newspapers over the signature of "Adrian." The woods are full of "mute inglorious Miltons" who ought to be dragged into the light of day again. Success to your series.—G. B. C.

Editor Michigan History Magazine:

I NOTE your inquiry about what I may know of Mrs. James Campbell's researches and conclusions relative to the fur-trader Mme. La Framboise. I had hoped that Mrs. Campbell had written out something,—but I judge from a letter received from Mr. Walter Banyon of Benton Harbor, who has charge of her papers that nothing was found among them.

I think she wanted to prove that Mme. La Framboise was the first trader on the Grand River. Of course she was the first woman trader probably. Rix Robinson was a rival for the historic precedence. And if Mr. Claude Hamilton is right, Langlade antedated him. I do not know what proof Mrs.

Campbell had assembled. She often talked about it but I missed the talk she gave on it at the Sophie de Marsac Campau Chapter D. A. R. so did not get the continuity. It was such a great pity that she never wrote things out. She could tell them so clearly and interestingly.

At the Mackinac meeting of the Historical Commission (July 27-28-29, 1922) she and I stayed at the Mission House and she visited Father Keuel and he gave her permission to see what she could discover with regard to Mme. La Framboise's grave being under the church. The tradition was, that the Madam gave the ground with the condition that she be buried under the altar. Mrs. Campbell some way enlisted the services of one James O'Brien (an employe of the Island House), and he assisted her. They had put a new furnace in the church, and everything—dirt, stones, and boards—was piled up helter-skelter in the part of the cellar or basement that was excavated. Prof. Myers, who wrote the Myers' General History was staying at the Mission House and he became interested and went with us. He said his clothes were too good to risk going under the part where the graves were (as told us by people who had seen them there—the Frank boys and others) and I had only one pair of shoes with me, brand-new ones which I refused to sacrifice, so we gingerly made our way beyond the furnace to where we could see in and perceived some stones. But Mrs. Campbell and J. O'Brien went down on their hands and knees and crawled in. O'Brien had a flash light. There was a large stone such as are usually placed over the entire grave on a low frame of stone in very old cemeteries. This had no inscription so "Jimmie O'Brien" (as everyone calls him) turned it over and there was the inscription. Mrs. Campbell read it out and I wrote it down. The inscriptions are as given in Kelton (p. 45 Annals of Fort Mackinac) except that under Josephine's is the name I think of the infant son who died soon (a few days I believe) after she did. He was buried with her. It may be only the word "infant" was given,—I don't remember. I afterward wrote it out for Mrs. Campbell.

I think the date for one of the stones was not quite the same as that given by Kelton. I don't remember which stone it was. There were two stones, I think, but can't be sure of that either. Now what interests me about the letter you have from the present pastor is that these stones were not under the altar. I wonder if they (the woman and child) were really buried under the altar, and if only the stones had been moved. If so, the stones could be set up outside as well as left where they are, which may not be near the real graves at all. An examination of the deed would show whether there was any condition such as tradition asserts. On page 178 of Rezek's *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette* are given some extracts from the deed.

Certainly the Catholic Church owes a lot to Mme. La Framboise. She seems to have been its most faithful adherent at a time when the priests had almost deserted the island. Mme. Therese Baird tells of her winning the Biddle girl back after a sojourn in Philadelphia had disturbed her filial as well as her religious training and allegiance. I think they should make the graves a matter of interest and pride. It is a unique feature in this country, though in Europe it often happens that a patron is buried under the altar or in some spot chosen. The stones might be sunk in the floor over the graves as is done in the old world churches. A tablet at the entrance of the church or on the wall near the basement entrance would be fine. I think if Father Keuel had lived he would have done something as he seemed much interested but he was even then ill with the trouble that carried him off within that year, I think. Anyway he was never well after that, as I kept track through the St. Ignace paper, intending to approach him again on the subject if he was well enough so that it would not bother him.

The most charming use of the story in fiction is, as you know, by Mary Hartwell Catherwood in "The Black Feather" in "Mackinac and Lake Stories."

MARION M. DAVIS,
The Ruskin,
Pittsburg, Penna.

INDIAN traditions relating to various sites are numerous throughout both peninsulas of Michigan. Walter E. Banyon of Benton Harbor calls to our attention one originating with the Potawatomis. He writes:

There is a tradition among the Potawatomi Indians of Berrien, Cass and Van Buren Counties, that their fore-fathers obtained lead for bullets from a mine "in the bend of the river", meaning the St. Joseph, but that the location has been lost.

A few years ago a resident of Berrien Springs was traveling through the mountains of Virginia and there met an old man about 90 years of age who at one time had lived along the banks of the St. Joseph. This old man had obtained from the Indians the tradition of the "Lost Lead Mine" and communicated the legend with the description of a supposed location to the Berrien Springs man.

Upon his return to Berrien Springs, accompanied by Morey Alger, Editor of the *Berrien Springs Era*, a secret trip was made to the "Shaker Farm" on the river bottoms, and borings made but results were negative. Borings were made at other places with like results.

The rumor of this lead mine has persisted at Berrien Springs since the earliest days. Indians residing in Cass County have a very definite tribal tradition of this mine. The most recent claim to the re-discovery of "the lost lead mine of Berrien County" was made by Michael Martin on his farm near St. Joseph. Martin was drilling for a well and at a depth of 155 feet was stopped by a hard deposit which could not be penetrated. Samples of the deposit on the end of the drill showed under chemical analysis a dry sample containing almost 60 per cent lead and 27 per cent iron.

We await developments, and good luck to Mr. Martin.

NEW members added recently to the Michigan State Archeological Society:

Louis P. Haight, Lock Box 410, Muskegon
Mrs. Ralph Ballard, R. F. D. No. 4, Niles
Martin N. Brady, Merrill Bldg., Saginaw, W. S.
Rev. R. E. Simons, Webberville
Frances I. Huntington, 111 E. Crane St., Howell
Mrs. Rittie I. Gregory, 305 Walnut St., Howell
Dr. Carl E. Guthe, Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor
John P. Schuch, Schuch Hotel, Saginaw, W. S.
Langley S. Foote, 621 S. Granger Ave., Saginaw, W. S.
Herr W. Brady, 1925 Gratiot Road, Saginaw, W. S.
Mrs. Arthur Greenwood, Brighton

THE United States Public Building Commission, in which is chiefly vested the execution of the Act which authorizes the appropriation of \$50,000,000 for the erection of United States Government buildings in Washington, has allotted \$6,800,000 for a national archives building. One million of this sum was appropriated by Congress, near the close of last session, for the purchase of the site (back of the Postoffice Department Building at 12th Street and Pennsylvania Ave.), for the completion of plans, and for work on the foundation. It has been reported that work on the foundation is expected to begin about the first of this October.

PLACE names are always interesting, some more than others. How places got their names is as fascinating a study as the family tree. Try it and see; begin on your streets, or your township, or the county. In an earlier number of the Magazine was published an article on Berrien County, by George R. Fox of Three Oaks, giving a complete account of the place names of that county. Try it for your county. It ought to be done for every Michigan county. Recently a

volume has appeared, entitled *Nebraska Place-Names*, published by the University of Nebraska. How interesting place names can be—and Michigan is no exception—is shown in the following by some one whom Heaven has gifted with a sense of humor:

American place names are a perennial source of wonderment to the uninitiated and of joy to the unregenerate. One wonders, for example, what unfortunate tribal chief was monumentalized in the barbarous name of Ypsilanti, and on inquiry finds that the unfortunate in question belonged to the race of Hector and Homer, and never saw America. The justification for such names as Lone Tree and Three Oaks is sufficiently obvious, but the paucity of imagination which planted a Troy in the domain of the Iroquois and a Bismarck in the land of the Dakota is fairly comparable to that displayed by Mr. Stickney of Ohio a century and a quarter ago, who labeled his sons, in the order of their arrival, with the cardinal numbers.

Provocative of these more or less random observations is a volume on *Nebraska Place Names*, compiled by Lilian L. Fitzpatrick and published by the University of Nebraska. The book is issued as No. 6 in the series of "Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism," but to which one in particular of these three sub-groups it is designed to contribute we are not informed.

But to turn to some specific cases of Nebraska humor and pathos as these qualities are illustrated by the place names of the commonwealth: Arabia, in Cherry County, was so named, we learn, because an early comer thought the soil of the vicinity resembled the desert sands of Arabia. Apparently this was a first impression of a homesick "sooner," however, for the soil of Arabia was later found to be "very fertile." Big Creek and Calf Creek in the same county explain themselves, and exhibit neither pathos nor humor. But who would perceive, in the unmelodious name "Cashswan" a noble patronymic of ancient Latium? "Swan" was the postmaster's

surname and "Cassius" was his baptismal designation; but "Cash Swan" was the cognomen employed by his neighbors in everyday usage and this unholy combination was fixed upon the town.

More unfortunate still was Mr. Hitchcock, whom a doting parent with wishful vision christened "Daniel Webster." His matter-of-fact neighbors in mature life dubbed him "Get-there-Eli," and so the town was named, to be shortened subsequently to "Eli," its present name.

"Middle Prong" intrigues the imagination until one learns that it signifies the middle branch of the Loup River, which runs through the county. "Soudan" (we are still in Cherry County) was reached by a more roundabout process of reasoning than was the name Arabia. The name (in Africa) is derived, we are told, from a word meaning black, or "the land of the blacks." Soudan, Nebraska, is not noted for its Hamitic population, but it lies in the Black Hills region, hence the name. Its proponent, evidently, possessed more erudition, not to say imagination, than did the father, above noted, of Two Stickney of Ohio. Another Cherry County name which is at once appropriate, interesting, and melodious is "Lavaca." By the early French explorers the buffaloes which swarmed in countless herds over the entire Mississippi Valley were known simply as cattle—*les vaches*. Frenchmen were in Texas at an early period, and nineteenth century Texas "Cowmen" drove vast herds of longhorns northward to "Abilene" and other Nebraska railroad points. Some Texan gave to Lavaca the name which in his own state is borne by a river, a county, and a bay, and which is supposed to be the anglicized corruption of the simple French form, *les vaches*.

Appropriate, also, is the name of Broken Bow. In this case, the founder of the town three times propounded a name for his creation, only to have it rejected by the postal authorities. We are not told what the three proposals were, but one may safely assume that they repeated, or closely resembled the names of other postoffices already in existence. The founder

at last called to mind the fact that he had found at an abandoned Indian camp ground nearby a broken bow and an arrow. This incident gave him the idea for the name which adorns the county seat of Custer County.

Enterprise, Opportunity, Magnet, and Freedom are names sufficiently self-explanatory. But beautiful "Nacora," coined from the Spanish word *nacio* ("I am born") stands in need of explanation. So, too, does "Enola," which is plain Malone spelled backward with the final letter deleted; "Cadams," which immortalizes Mr. C. Adams; and "Sarben," which is the name of the commonwealth spelled backwards and deprived of its final syllable.

Of all Nebraska place names we award the palm of freakishness to Wynot, whose founders are said to have asked themselves the question, "Why not name it Why Not?" and asking, had the atrocious taste to answer in the affirmative.

THE following is compiled from an article bearing the title, "History and Meaning of the County Names of Michigan," written by William L. Jenks of Port Huron for the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. 38, pp. 439-478.

The original article contains much State history connected with the organization of Michigan counties, and a list of references. There are many names of villages, townships, cities and natural objects in Michigan concerning which no printed information exists. Teachers could solve most of such questions for their respective counties through their pupils, for young people easily get interested in hunting out the meaning of place-names. This compilation (and much better the original article) is an illustration of the interest of this field of research. The concluding paragraph of that article reads:

"There are at present eighty-three counties in the State, of which thirty-two have names of Indian origin; twenty-nine

are named for individuals; sixteen take their names for natural objects, rivers, etc.; and six have names intended to be of a descriptive character. During the history of the State, four counties have been laid out which after a more or less fitful career have disappeared: Washington, Wyandotte, Manitou and Isle Royal. The Secretary of the Northwest Territory laid out and named one county; Governor Cass named eleven counties; Governor Cass and his Legislative Council, twenty-seven counties; and the Legislature of the State forty-eight counties."

*

Alcona, 1869—A name manufactured according to Schoolcraft's formula, from "al" (Arabic for "the"), "co" (root of a word meaning "plain" or "prairie"), and "na" (a termination meaning "excellent"). "Alcona" hence means "The excellent plain." The original name of this county was "Negwegon," from a Chippewa chief-tain who was a friend of the Americans in the War of 1812. His name means "little wing."

Alger, 1885—In honor of Russell A. Alger, Governor of Michigan, 1885-87.

Allegan, 1835—Derivation disputed. Probably from an Indian tribe whose name was sometimes spelled "Allegans." The name is one of those suggested by Schoolcraft. From the same tribe are probably named the Allegheny Mountains.

Alpena, 1857—A name made after the Schoolcraft formula, from the Arabic "al" (the) and either "pinai" (partridge) or "Penaissee" (bird); hence, "The bird country," or "The partridge country." The original name was "Anamickee," from a Chippewa chief who signed the Treaty of 1826 negotiated by Schoolcraft; the name means "thunder," an appropriate name for a county including the entire shore of Thunder Bay.

Antrim, 1863—From a county in the northeastern part of Ireland; adopted apparently from no historical connection or special appropriateness. The original name of the county was "Meegisee," from a Chippewa chief who signed the Treaties of 1821 and 1826; the name means "eagle."

Arenac, 1883—A name manufactured by Schoolcraft, from the Indian "auk" or "akke" (land or earth), and the Latin "arena" (sand)—hence, "a sandy place."

The years indicate the date of county organization.

- Baraga, 1875—In honor of Bishop Frederick Baraga, known as the "Indian Apostle of the Northwest," who labored among the Indians of Michigan from 1831 until his death in 1868; he is the author of a Chippewa grammar and dictionary.
- Barry, 1839—From William T. Barry, Postmaster General in President Jackson's cabinet.
- Bay, 1857—From its geographical position, at the head of Saginaw Bay.
- Benzie, 1869—Derivation uncertain. Some say the name is a corruption of "Betsey," the name of the principal river; which, however, is a corruption of the French name, "Riviere Aux Bec Scies" (river of the saw bill,—Merganser duck); this in turn is a translation of the Indian name for the river "Uns-zig-o-ze." A more probable derivation is from Benzonia, which was settled in 1858, and was the first county seat. "Benzonia" has been stated to be composed of two Hebrew words, meaning "sons of light," or "sons of toil"; but no combination of Hebrew words would give these meanings. Possibly the name of the county may have been made of "Ben," from "Benzonia," and "Scies," changed to "zie," from the river, making "Benzie."
- Berrien, 1831—From John M. Berrien, Attorney General in President Jackson's cabinet.
- Branch, 1833—From John Branch, Secretary of the Navy in President Jackson's cabinet.
- Calhoun, 1833—From John C. Calhoun, Vice President of the United States in President Jackson's administration.
- Cass, 1829—From Lewis Cass, who was Governor of Michigan Territory from 1813 to 1831, and one of the strongest influences in its settlement.
- Charlevoix, 1869—In honor of Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, the French Jesuit missionary, traveler and historian; this region, described in his *History of New France*, he touched in his travels about 1721. The original name of the county was "Keshkauko," from a chief of the Saginaw Chippewas, who signed the Treaty of 1819.
- Cheboygan, 1853—Named from the principal stream of the county. A variety of derivations are claimed for the name itself: "great pipe," "place of ore," "a water-pass from lake to lake," "hollow bone,"—from Indian words similar in sound or meaning.
- Chippewa, 1826—From the Chippewa (Ojibway) Indians, who inhabited the Upper Peninsula. "Chippewa" is an English corruption of Ojibway. The latter means, according to the Ojibway historian Warren, "to roast till puckered up"—referring either to the puck-

ered seam on their moccasins or to the custom of these Indians to torture their enemies by fire. Another derivation is, "He who surmounts obstacles."

Clare, 1871—From a county in the western part of Ireland, apparently for no appropriate reason. The original name was "Kaykakee," Chippewa for "pigeon hawk," which was the name of a chief at Sault Ste. Marie referred to in the Treaty of 1826.

Clinton, 1839—From DeWitt Clinton, Governor of New York, who fostered the building of the Erie Canal; the opening of this canal in 1825 marked a new era in the settlement of Michigan.

Crawford, 1840—A name suggested in 1843 by Jonathan Lamb, Representative in the State Legislature from Washtenaw County, intended to commemorate either the name of Wm. H. Crawford of Georgia, a prominent politician, or that of Colonel William Crawford, who was burned by the Indians at Upper Sandusky in 1782; evidence based on family tradition is in favor of the latter. The original name of the county was "Shawono," from a noted Chippewa chief who lived at the Sault, and who signed several Indian treaties.

Delta, 1861—From the Greek letter "Delta," referring to the triangular shape of the original county, which included parts of Menominee, Dickinson, Marquette and Iron counties.

Dickinson, 1891—In honor of Don M. Dickinson, an eminent Detroit attorney, and favorite son of the Michigan Democracy; the County was named by the Democratic legislature of 1891.

Eaton, 1837—From John H. Eaton, Secretary of War in President Jackson's cabinet.

Emmet, 1853—Named for the Irish patriot, Robert Emmett. The original name of the county was "Tonedagana," from an Ottawa chief, who signed several Indian treaties affecting lands in Michigan.

Genesee, 1836—Named from the "Genesee County" in western New York, whence came many of its early settlers. The word "Genesee" is derived from the Seneca word, "Je-nis-hi-yeh," meaning beautiful valley, referring to the valley of the Genesee River.

Gladwin, 1875—In honor of Major Henry Gladwin, who commanded the fort at Detroit during its siege by Pontiac, in 1763-64.

Gogebic, 1887—Named from the Gogebic iron district, which in turn is probably named from Lake Agogebic lying partly within it. The name of the lake has been variously translated to mean "smooth rock," "little fish," "rocky shore," "place of diving," "dividing lake," "a body of water hanging on high," "root under which the porcupine hides," "nest of porcupines," or "porcupine lake." It is probably from a Chippewa word connecting it with "rock."

Grand Traverse, 1851—From the bay upon which it borders, which in turn was named from the French "la grande traverse," or "the long crossing,"—from the fact that the early French voyageurs crossed in their canoes this larger indentation from headland to headland, instead of following the shore line; the crossing of the neighboring smaller indentation they called "la petite traverse." The original name of the county was "Omeena," meaning either "the point beyond," referring to the narrow peninsula jutting up into Grand Traverse Bay; or "he gives to him," from the Indian word "ominau."

Gratiot, 1885—In honor of Captain Charles Gratiot, who in 1814 built Fort Gratiot, at the head of the St. Clair River; he served with distinction in the War of 1812.

Hillsdale, 1835—Descriptive of the "hills" and "dales" characteristic of its beautiful rolling and hilly surface.

Houghton, 1846—In honor of Douglas Houghton, first State Geologist of Michigan, who was lost in a storm on Lake Superior in 1845; a man to whom Michigan owes much for bringing early to the world a knowledge of the State's vast mineral resources. The name is specially appropriate for a county of such great mineral wealth.

Huron, 1859—From the lake bordering on the north, east and west, which was named from the Indians whom the Jesuits called Hurons; this tribe dwelt around the head of Georgian Bay. The word Huron is said to be derived from the French "hures" (boars); to the French who saw them for the first time, the wearing of their hair in ridges gave to their heads a fanciful resemblance to the heads of wild boars.

Ingham, 1838—From Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury in President Jackson's cabinet.

Ionia, 1837—Of classical origin, commemorating the ancient Greek district on the west shore of Asia Minor, whose cities were for centuries famous for their commerce, wealth, civilization and social development.

Iosco, 1857—A favorite name with Schoolcraft, who published several poems bearing it. In one of his writings he says, "Iosco" means "water of light." The original name of the county was Kanotin, from an Ottawa chief referred to in the Treaty of 1836 as living in the Grand River district. "Kanotin" may be derived from a Chippewa word meaning "wind."

Iron, 1885—Descriptive of its iron deposits, first adequately explored in 1880.

- Isabella, 1859—From Queen Isabella of Spain, whose favor assisted Columbus in his first voyage to the New World in 1492; the name was proposed by Schoolcraft.
- Jackson, 1832—From Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, 1829-1837.
- Kalamazoo, 1830—From the principal river of the county, which on the early maps bore the name "ke-kala-mazoo." The Indian form of the word was probably "Ke-Ken-a-ma-zoo," of which the meaning is given variously as "bright sparkling water," "boiling kettle," "boiling water," "beautiful water," "stones like otters," and "It smokes."
- Kalkaska, 1871—Possibly from a Chippewa word meaning "burned over." The original name of the county was "Wabassee," from a Potawatomi chief who signed the Treaty of 1821. "Wabassee" means "swan."
- Kent, 1836—In honor of James Kent of New York City, who was then at the height of his reputation; his "Commentaries," completed in 1830, for many years formed the basis of instruction for law students.
- Keweenaw, 1861—The earliest form of this word appears in the Jesuit map of Lake Superior (1670), as "Kiouchounaning." The original Indian word means "a portage," or "a place where a portage is made."
- Lake, 1871—A name apparently chosen at random; it is peculiarly inappropriate, as the county is inland and contains no lakes of any size. The original name was "Aishcum," from a Potawatomi chief whose signature appears on all of the Indian treaties affecting the lands of Michigan from 1818 to 1836. "Aishcum" in Chippewa would mean "going farther."
- Lapeer, 1835—From Flint River, the principal stream in the county. "Flint" is English for "La Pierre," a name which the French traders gave to the river from the Indian "Pe-wan-a-go-wing," the Indian name of the stream, meaning "flint," or "flint stones."
- Leelanau, 1863—Suggested by Schoolcraft, in 1829. In his *Algic Researches* is found "Leelinau, an Ojibwa Tale," the story of an Indian maid living on the Michigan shore of Lake Superior near Grand Sable. He gives the meaning of the word as "delight of life."
- Lenawee, 1826—Either from the Delaware Indian "Leno," meaning "man," or in the Shawnee form, "lenawai," meaning the same, or "Indian." The name of the county was originally spelled with one "e."

- Livingston, 1836—In honor of Edward Livingston, who was Secretary of State in President Jackson's cabinet; a man who had won success after apparent failure and against great obstacles.
- Luce, 1887—In honor of Cyrus G. Luce, Governor of Michigan, 1887-1891.
- Mackinac (shortened from Michilimackinac), 1818—Indian name probably "Mishinimakinong," first applied to Mackinac Island, mentioned in the Jesuit Relation of 1669-70 as "a large island named Michilimackinac, celebrated among the savages." Blackbird says the name was given by the Ottawas to the island in memory of an Indian tribe called "Mishinimaki," which early dwelt there.
- Macomb, 1818—From General Alexander Macomb, U. S. Army; born in Detroit, April 3, 1782.
- Manistee, 1855—An Indian name, from the principal river of the county. The meanings ascribed to "Manistee" are various: "vermillion river," "lost river," "island in the river," "river with islands," "spirit of the woods," "river at whose mouth there are islands," "river with white bushes on the banks."
- Marquette, 1851—In honor of Father Jacques Marquette, who founded the Mission of St. Ignace in 1671, and with Joliet in 1673, discovered and explored with Mississippi River.
- Mason, 1855—Commemorates "the Boy Governor" of Michigan, Stevens T. Mason, elected Governor in 1835; he had served as Acting Governor of Michigan Territory since the resignation of Governor Cass in 1831. The original name of the county was "Notipekago," the Indian name of the Pere Marquette River, which is the principal stream of the county. "Notipekago" means "river with heads on sticks,"—referring to a tradition that at an early period a band of Indians who encamped at the mouth of the river were nearly exterminated by some Potawatomis, and their heads cut off and placed on sticks.
- Mecosta, 1859—Named from a Potawatomi chief who signed the Treaty of 1836. The word is said to mean "bear cub."
- Menominee, 1863—Named from the principal river of the county, which in turn derives its name from the Menominee Indians. "Menominee" means "good grain," the Chippewa name for the wild rice which grew there, and was their chief vegetable food.
- Midland, 1855—Descriptive of its geographical position, nearly in the center of the Lower Peninsula.
- Missaukee, 1871—Named from an Ottawa chief who signed the treaties of 1831 and 1833. The name itself may be derived directly from a word meaning "at large mouth of river," or from "Mississauga," an Indian tribe near the head of Georgian Bay,—“people of wide mouth river."

- Monroe, 1817—in honor of President James Monroe, who in 1817 visited Detroit. This was the first Presidential tour made to the West.
- Montcalm, 1850—In memory of the courage, ability, and devotion to duty, of Marquis de Montcalm; who, with General Wolfe, was killed in battle on the Plains of Abraham, before Quebec, in 1759.
- Montmorency, 1881—Derivation uncertain. It was given to the county by the Legislature of 1843.
- Muskegon, 1859—Named from its principal river. "Muskegon" is of Chippewa origin, meaning "swamp" or "marsh,"—perhaps, "tamarack."
- Newaygo, 1851—Named probably from a Chippewa chief who signed the Saginaw Treaty of 1819. "Newaygo" may mean "much water"; or according to one writer, "wing."
- Oakland, 1820—From the beautiful oak openings which originally covered the county, described by Bela Hubbard as like "majestic orchards of oaks and hickories varied by small prairies, grassy lawns and clear lakes."
- Oceana, 1855—Descriptive of its position on the "fresh water ocean" of the Great Lakes.
- Ogemaw, 1875—From the Chippewa word for "chief." A leading Saginaw chief who signed the Treaty of 1819 was called Ogemaw-kiketo, "head speaker."
- Ontonagon, 1855—Named from its principal river, which empties into Lake Superior. Various meanings are given for "Ontonagon," among them, "hunting river," "lost dish," "place where game is shot by guess," and "fishing place."
- Osceola, 1869—The name of a Seminole chief in Florida, who died in 1838. "Osceola" may mean "black drink"; or, according to others, "rising sun." The original name of the county was "Unwattin," from an Ottawa chief referred to in the Treaty of 1836.
- Oscoda, 1881—A name made after the Schoolcraft formula, from "os" for "ossin" (pebble), and "coda" for "muscoda" (prairie); hence, "pebble prairie."
- Otsego, 1875—From Otsego County and Lake in New York. "Otsego" is a Mohawk-Iroquois word, meaning according to some, "clear water," or "place where meetings are held." According to Schoolcraft, it means "beautiful lake." The original name of the county was "Okkuddo," said to mean "sickly."
- Ottawa, 1837—Named for the Indian tribe which was most populous in that county and the adjacent region. The tribal name is said to mean "traders"; more probably it is a corruption of "Ondatahouat," from a word meaning "forest."

Presque Isle, 1871—French for “almost an island”; referring to the narrow peninsula jutting out into Lake Huron toward the southern end of the county.

Roscommon, 1875—Named in 1843 for a county in central Ireland. The original Indian name was “Mikenauk,” from an Ottawa chief referred to in the Indian Treaty of 1836. “Mikenauk” means “turtle.”

Saginaw, 1835—From the river and bay of that name. Meaning is disputed. A map of 1682 gives the bay the name Baye de Sikonam. Common acceptance refers the name to the Chippewa “Sak-e-nong” (place of the Sacs), from the tradition that a tribe of Sacs early lived near the mouth of the Saginaw River.

Sanilac, 1848—From Sanillac, who, according to tradition, was a Wyandotte chieftain, famous in the wars between the Wyandottes and the Iroquois.

St. Clair, 1821—From the township of St. Clair, laid out by Governor Cass in 1818, named from General Arthur St. Clair, first Governor of the Northwest Territory.

St. Joseph, 1829—From the principal stream of the county, named in honor of the patron saint of New France; this was probably in 1689, when the Jesuit mission was established on the river near the site of the present city of Niles.

Schoolcraft, 1871—In honor of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Indian Agent for the Indians of the Great Lakes from 1822 on, who wrote many works on the Michigan Indians, and had much to do with selecting the original Indian names of several counties in the Lower Peninsula.

Shiawassee, 1837—From the Shiawassee River, the principal stream of the county. The derivation commonly accepted in the county is that given by Kelton, from an Indian word meaning “the river that twists about.”

Tuscola, 1845—Schoolcraft in one place gives the name the meaning, “warrior prairie,” and in another, “level lands”; it is probably a word made by Schoolcraft.

Van Buren, 1837—From Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State in President Jackson’s cabinet.

Washtenaw, 1826—From the Chippewa “Washtenong” applied to the country west of the Detroit district, which in turn is derived from the name of the Grand River. “Grande,” is the French translation of the Indian word, which means “extending far off,”—referring to the length of the river.

Wayne, 1815—In honor of General Anthony Wayne (“mad Anthony Wayne” of the Revolutionary War), whose treaty with the Indians

at Greenville, Illinois, in 1795, extinguished the Indian title to a portion of the land later included in Wayne County.

Wexford, 1869—Named for a county in the southeastern part of Ireland. The original name was "Kautawbet," from a chief prominent at Sandy Lake who signed the Indian Treaty of 1825. The name signifies "broken tooth."

THE Magazine acknowledges with pleasure the generous words received from time to time for service rendered. It seems proper to make at least this brief though sincere record of appreciation for the good will expressed. While we must avoid publishing any compliments lest we lay ourselves open to criticism, we shall be very glad to publish any suggestions or any criticism that may be helpful in making the Magazine more useful and promoting general interest in Michigan history.

AMONG THE BOOKS

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES. Prepared by the Committee on Handbook of the Conference of Historical Societies: Joseph Schafer, George N. Fuller, Solon J. Buck. Printed in an edition of 500 copies at Madison, Wis., by the Cantwell Printing Co., pp. 81. Price \$1.

The first definite steps to produce this Handbook were taken at the Sixteenth Annual Conference of Historical Societies which met at Washington, D. C., in December, 1920. The work of gathering the data has been aided by the cooperation of many persons in many states. To Miss Edna Louise Jacobson, editorial assistant of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is due, more than to any other one person, the final arrangement of the material and the accuracy of its printing.

This is a very useful little volume, but in the necessity of the case it will be quickly out of date; new organizations will form, and old will drop out; some of them will grow. It is entirely improbable that all existing societies were heard from, in the questionnaire used to gather the data.

Under "Michigan" the following societies are described: Detroit Historical Society, Historical Society of Grand Rapids, Ingham County Pioneer and Historical Society, Keweenaw Historical Society, Marquette County Historical Society, Michigan Historical Commission, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Oakland County Pioneer and Historical Society, Three Oaks Historical Society, and the Washtenaw County Pioneer and Historical Society.

Revised editions of this work will doubtless appear from time to time.

THE HISTORIAN AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE. By Allen Johnson, Professor of American History, Yale University. New York, Scribners, 1926, pp. 179. Price \$2.

A most pleasing popular mention of this book is that by Simeon Strunsky in the *New York Times Book Review*, and Mr. Strunsky has accorded us permission to use it in the *Michigan History Magazine*. Incidentally he says many things worth pondering, and says them better than the reviewer can. Hence we will let him talk. He says:

Popular sentiment in a scientific age has been hard on one type of scientist whose misfortune it is to be disguised as a "scholar." Your scientist spends his life chasing the infinitesimals of nature in the

mess and smell of his laboratory, and the world chants his services in the cause of Truth. Your scholar spends his life in his library chasing the minutiae of humankind in the interest of that same Truth, and what is his reward? The world calls him Dryasdust, the poet writes satirical Grammarian's Funerals about him, and Mr. H. G. Wells sets out to reduce him and his family to destitution by showing the way history should really be written. Some approach to a revision of this unfair verdict we are now making, and oddly enough by way of the archeologist who would be the grubbiest and dustiest personage in the entire family of scholarship. Ever since the spade of the excavator revealed to the world that Tutankh-Amen may have been a victim of T. B., that the ladies of ancient Carthage were acquainted with beauty parlors and that the ancient Mayas used to have their tooth cavities filled, historians have been acquiring a popular prestige which was denied them as long as they confined themselves to searching out the facts about the Council of Trent and the origins of the Roman Civil Law.

Upon this favorable turn in the market arrives opportunely Professor Allen Johnson's "The Historian and Historical Evidence" (Scribner's). If the dignity of labor is not altogether an empty phrase, respect must go out to the back-breaking and mind-racking labor that goes into the study of the historic record. And more than labor enters into the discovery of the "source," the authentication of the "source," its dating and weighing and delimiting. The same profound intuitions, the same brilliant guesses and the same painful self-control in face of dazzling possibilities that have built up Science obtain in the achievements of scientific scholarship. Like the bacillus in the laboratory, the historical document in the library must be isolated, tested, subjected to "controls." Before your scientific historian will address himself to the evaluation of the testimony in a medieval manuscript perhaps half a dozen specialized telescopes must be trained upon it. The palaeographer must pronounce on the handwriting. The expert in diplomatics must test for the technique employed in the various chancelleries of Europe. The expert in sphragistics—blessed word!—brings testimony from the seals, wax and otherwise. The expert in heraldry has his own say.

And only then the trouble begins! Only then the historian is face to face with his real problem, which is the validity of human testimony in itself. Professor Johnson calls it "the basis of historical doubt." And it is a problem from which the scientist in the laboratory is exempt. Nature does not lie, but men will lie frequently and for any number of reasons you can think of. Nature is coy, but not perfidious. She must be sought out, but when she is found she is loyal; at least until some better man with a better hypothesis comes

around and woes and wins her. She will leave Newton to dwell with Einstein; but she will not deceive Newton as long as she is under his roof. But when the historian has at last "placed" his document with respect to authenticity of authorship, of time and of locale, he must still determine whether the words of the document are truth or lies. Documents, memoirs, diaries have been written or colored to depreciate an enemy, to glorify one's self or one's own, to make money. Before the historian can wrest the truth out of a "source" he must discount out of his text all influences—personal, racial, national, religious, lingual—the habit of the time, the custom of the country.

Is that all? By no means. After it is established that this is an honest document written by an honest man qualifying as a competent witness, we have still the fairly serious problem of human fallibility. Professor Johnson recalls the Wall Street explosion in September, 1920. Of nine witnesses who were on the block where the bomb went off, eight, as it turned out, testified honestly enough, yet not to what they had seen but what they had inferred and even what they had guessed. There is the celebrated experiment by Professor Liszt in Berlin. With the connivance of two students the professor staged a quarrel and an attempt at murder in his classroom. When order was restored the students were required to prepare a report on what they had seen. The performance was divided into fourteen "moments," on the basis of which the individual reports were marked. The best report showed 26 per cent of error, the faultiest showed 80 per cent. On March 4, 1850, John C. Calhoun was too ill to deliver his own speech in the Senate and had it read for him. Charles A. Dana reported in *The New York Tribune* that Calhoun "sat with head erect and eyes partly closed, and he did not betray a sense of the deep interest with which his friends and followers listened." The correspondent of *The Charleston Mercury* reported that Calhoun sat still, "his eyes roving about the audience to note its effect." John Quincy Adams was in the habit of writing up his diary late at night, "when overcome with bodily and mental fatigue and when consequently he was no fair judge of either men or events."

Is it any wonder that our author is driven to ask whether there is ever any hope of getting to the reality behind the document? Historical testimony has been frequently compared with testimony in a court of justice. But, even if you may cite document against document, there is in favor of court procedure the personal confrontation, the cross-examination, the aggregate of living contacts on which the jury idea is based. Finally there is the question whether authenticated words and "facts" can be assumed to have meant several thousand years ago what they mean to us today or can mean several thousand miles away what they mean here. Our emotions in the West are

frequently not the emotions of the Chinese or of Homer's heroes who were in the habit of shedding tears of rage and joy. Well, these doubts are not raised by Professor Johnson in order to undermine all faith in history. If the human soul around Troy was not in all respects the human soul today, we know on the other hand that we thrill today to Homer and the Greek tragedians, thus testifying to a continuing human sentiment. If a great many men will lie under provocation, it may be reasonably assumed on the other hand that in the absence of special motive a man will rather tell the truth than otherwise. The conclusion is simple enough and fairly reassuring: "The historian can never reach mathematical certainty and he is fortunate indeed if he can reach a high degree of probability, a probability beyond reasonable doubt."

Probability beyond reasonable doubt in respect to Themistocles or Charlemagne ought to be enough. In your morning paper you will see that it has not yet been determined to a mathematical certainty whether Helen Wills did or did not play those two sets at Cannes with a bruised knee. The battle is still hot and heavy between the adherents of "Margery" of Boston and the learned men of Cambridge. How often do we get such weighing of evidence and sifting of testimony as "Margery" the medium has elicited? In how many scientific laboratories has such an elaborate technique been directed toward the capture of truth? It was a question, for instance, whether certain ghostly whisperings proceed from "Margery" or from the Beyond. To that end a glass U tube is half filled with water. In each arm of the tube floats a cork impaled with a luminous match which thus measures in the dark the relative height of the two water levels. To one arm of the glass tube is attached a length of "armored incompressible" rubber piping, the other end of which rests in the medium's mouth. Any movement of her lips or tongue will affect the air pressure in the glass tube and send the corks dancing up and down. Tube, piping, corks and matches—did "Margery" exhale those eerie whis-pers or did the Beyond? The Beyond, say her friends. "Margery," says Harvard. On the whole we have reason to be content with a probability beyond reasonable doubt concerning Themistocles and Charlemagne.

Perhaps it is a yearning in the historian's heart for something more than probability that accounts for the new type of history written in terms of economic determinism. It certainly would seem to be the safer kind of history to write. Kings, chancellors, commanders-in-chief, ecclesiastics and revolutionists may misrepresent, distort, lie, forge and suppress. Memoirs may be colored. Diaries may be written by tired men or prejudiced men. But the geography of a country will not lie. Climate will not concoct evidence. The failure of a grain

supply is not subject to personal bias. The discovery of a continent or the rise of an industrial system produces effects which are independent of partisan control. When the historian says that the history of a nation's agriculture is more important than the history of its battles and its dynasties, he probably means in addition that the truth about a nation's agriculture is much more easily ascertainable than the truth about its wars and its politics.

The economic interpretation of history is welcomed by our author as exemplifying the use of the hypothesis in historical research. There is no reason why the historian should shrink from a method of investigation that has yielded such enormous results in scientific research. Start out with a preconceived notion by all means, provided you do it in the spirit of the scientist who certainly would be delighted to find the facts justifying his hypothesis but who stands ready to abandon his preconceived notion if the facts are hostile. But the preconceived notion must be fluid; it must be a true hypothesis, it must not be a fixed theory that controls investigation. On this point Professor Johnson is a bit afraid of the economically determined historians:

Not content with interpreting the general drift of social groups in terms of economic interests—a legitimate and often profitable undertaking—they have attempted to impose their theory rigorously and to explain individual behavior in the same terms, often ignoring important data which do violence to the theory. Not only this: they have sometimes forced the facts to fit the theory.

WORLD HISTORY: 1815-1920. By Eduard Fueter. Translated from the French by Sidney Bradshaw Fay, Professor of History in Smith College. New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1922, pp. 490. Price \$3.75.

As a native of Switzerland, Professor Fueter occupies a strategic place from which to survey world history. For many years his reputation as a scholar of note has been established. His many volumes on historical subjects have been received favorably in many countries by the general public. His style is popular. His candor and fairness, keenness of insight and excellent historical judgment especially in handling controversial subjects ranks the present volume high in general favor.

As said by the translator: "Rarely have such heated questions as the World War, the Irish question, or the American War of Secession been treated with such succinctness, fairness and understanding. The second advantage which Professor Fueter enjoys is the

fact that through various kinds of newspaper work he has come into direct contact with the great problems of the day. The habit of seizing what is vital rather than what is traditional is reflected in this book. He has thrown overboard much that is usually found in histories of the nineteenth century to make room for what he considers more important. Though one may, perhaps, not always completely agree with his account, one can hardly fail to be interested and stimulated by the originality and vigor with which he presents it."

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST. By William Stearns Davis, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. New York, Macmillans, 1922, pp. 408. Price \$3.

This study of the Near East is a scholarly attempt to untangle the confused strands of political and racial hatreds extending over nearly sixteen hundred years. To understand the recent tempests in this part of the world, one needs just this volume. The style is admirable, fluent and clear, always interesting. The author shows amazing facility in handling such an immense amount of detail and keeping it always subordinate so that the main current of thought is unobstructed. The book is built on a four-part plan. The first deals with the Christian Empire at Constantinople; the second, with the rise of Islam and the Saracens; the third, with the Turkish penetration of Europe; the fourth, with the Turkish retreat. A good index and the generous use of maps add value.

HISTORY OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Randolph Greenfield Adams. Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1924. Price \$3.50.

This condensed survey of the foreign policy of the United States is written in direct and analytical style, and the emphasis placed upon commercial expansion, international association, a concert of action among nations.

It differs from anything heretofore written upon the diplomatic history of America. It places considerably less emphasis upon the early experiences of the Continental Congress and of the United States under the constitution, than does any other text. Unlike Mr. Foster, Mr. Adams places less emphasis upon the negotiations of Franklin with France during the Revolution and more upon the later diplomatic problems of the country. Mr. Adams presents the foreign policy of

the United States as a connected whole, marshaling the various international complications and diplomatic questions which have arisen for solution. He has discussed with thoroughness the more modern phases of our foreign policy, the questions growing out of our colonial policy, and the struggle for commercial supremacy.

The latter part of the book is taken up with the discussion of the problems growing out of the World War and which were before the peace conference at Versailles for solution. Dr. Adams also has discussed the treaties promulgated after the disarmament conference at Washington.

Taken all in all, this is the most modern, condensed and scholarly discussion of the entire foreign policy of the United States which is known to the reviewer.—*Reviewed by William W. Potter, Michigan Public Utilities Commission, Lansing.*

THE LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE WESTERN FRONTIER. By Ralph Leslie Rusk, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English in Columbia University. Two volumes. New York, Columbia University Press, 1925, pp. 457 and 419. Price \$7.50.

Cultural beginnings, travel, newspapers and magazines, controversial writings, scholarly writings and schoolbooks, fiction, poetry, drama, and the vogue of British and eastern writers, are some of the topics discussed in these two scholarly volumes. The second volume is largely a bibliography of the subject. The text throughout is abundantly documented.

The situation in this field previous to this work is in general stated by the author: "Almost a century has passed since James Hall, Timothy Flint, and William D. Gallagher attempted to create a literature of the West which should be marked both by excellence of artistic achievement and by a distinctly Western quality. Their failure to realize any large measure of artistic achievement may be granted without debate. There remains, however, the question of whether they and the great number of obscure authors who were their unconscious collaborators did not succeed in creating a body of literature invaluable for the record it contains of the growth of civilization during a unique epoch. The epoch was indeed unique; and its literary expression, with which the present book has to do, is, one may believe, a no less significant memorial of this pioneer era than are the facts of economic and political history which recent writers have so diligently explored. Upon the literature of the West before the end of the year 1840, the date which I have somewhat arbitrarily chosen to regard as marking the close of the pioneer period, two more or

less comprehensive works have already been written—William T. Coggeshall's *The Poets and Poetry of the West* (1860) and William H. Venable's *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (1891). Coggeshall's book is an anthology with biographical sketches which are for the most part indiscriminating eulogies. Venable's much more notable work, written some thirty years ago, remains a valuable popular miscellany of biographical and critical fact and anecdote. It was my reading of these early chroniclers which first suggested to me the need of such a study as I have here undertaken."

THE BURKHART MICHIGAN HISTORY SERIES. By C. A. Burkhardt. Chicago, A. J. Nystrom Co., 1926. Price \$18 and up.

It is a special pleasure to commend this series of maps to the schools of Michigan, since the office of the Michigan Historical Commission was active in helping to provide the data for their construction. The author of the series, Mr. Burkhardt, is a Michigan man, born and raised in Washtenaw County. He is a graduate of the Michigan State Normal College, and of the University of Michigan. For several years he was engaged in executive school work in Michigan, and is at the present time editorial director of the A. J. Nystrom Co., of Chicago, whose school supplies are well known to Michigan dealers.

This series is just going onto the market this fall. There are four plates in the series, each containing a geographical base, with several maps to illustrate. In Plate No. 1, the geographical base is the "Old Northwest." The period of this plate reaches from the time of discovery to the establishment of Michigan as a territory in 1805. It shows Michigan as a part of the French Possessions from 1671-1763; a part of the English Possessions, 1763-1783; and a part of the United States, 1783-1805. The routes of the early missionaries and explorers are the most conspicuous feature of this plate. The routes of all the important explorers are shown, such as Champlain, Nicolet, Raymbault and Jogues, Radisson and Groseilliers, Menard, Allouez, Marquette, Dollier and Galinée, Joliet, and La Salle. The locations of the important Indian families and tribes have been carefully worked out. All of the important Jesuit missions and French forts are shown. Evidence of the Spanish flag having flown over Michigan is given in the capture of Fort St. Joseph. A series of old maps is given as insets to show how the geographical knowledge of the Great Lakes region gradually increased. These are the Jesuit Map of Lake Superior, 1670; Hennepin's Map of the Upper Lakes, 1704; Great Lakes Region of the d'Anville Map, 1755. An inset of Detroit and Vicinity at the Time of Pontiac, 1763, will be found very useful in connection

with the study of the Conspiracy of Pontiac. The circular and rectangular forms of the Ancient Garden Beds are shown in another inset. The last inset shows the Northwest Territory and the states which were formed out of it with the dates of admission.

Plate No. 2 shows Michigan as a territory from 1805 to 1837. The main map shows the county organization in 1837. The date of organization of each county organized before 1838 is given, also the seats of justice of each organized county. The spellings of place names is taken from contemporary maps which differ considerably in many cases from modern spellings. This is particularly noticeable for the rivers. On this map are found the trans-territorial roads and the route of Governor Cass in 1820. The southern boundaries of Michigan as claimed by Michigan and as claimed by Indiana and Ohio are clearly given. Insets a, b, c, and d show the territorial extent of Michigan for the dates of 1805, 1818, 1834 and 1836. An interesting feature of these insets is that the counties lying wholly or partly outside of Michigan are shown. Inset e shows the organized townships in 1827. Inset f shows very clearly territory ceded by the Indians according to the ten most important treaties. Inset g is a reproduction of the Burr Map of Michigan published in 1831. It is particularly interesting to observe the shape of Lake Michigan and the Lower Peninsula as it was thought to be at that time. The route of the first steamship on Lake Erie, "Walk-In-The-Water," together with the ports of call are shown on inset h.

Plate No. 3 represents Michigan as a State from 1837-1860. The main map shows the county organization in 1860. The dates of organization of the counties organized between 1837 and 1861 together with the county seats are shown. An interesting feature of this map is seen in the railroad lines which had been completed by 1860. The building of the railroads from year to year can be followed on the map as the date of the opening of traffic of each extension is given. All cities and towns are classified according to the population in 1860. The locations and dates of organization of all State and educational institutions are given. Many northern counties of the southern peninsula were given Indian names at the time they were laid out in 1841, but were renamed in 1843. The original Indian names are given in connection with the modern county names. Inset a is a reproduction of the Judd Map of Michigan published in 1824. This is the first map of Michigan showing actual surveys and represents only a few of the southeastern counties. Inset b is a reproduction of the map of Michigan in Tanner's Universal Atlas of 1841. This is a rare map and shows the original Indian names for the northern Michigan counties. The population of Michigan by counties in 1837 is given in inset c. There were many so-called "Underground Railroads" in Michigan

just preceding the Civil War. These main routes of travel of the escaping slaves are shown on inset d.

Plate No. 4 represents Michigan as a State from 1860 to the present time. The main map is a modern political map of Michigan. Towns and cities are shown in seven grades of population. All steam and electric railroads and steamship lines are given. For this period the dates of the organization of counties, the county seats and the establishment of State and educational institutions appear. On this map also appears the extent of the forest reserves. Inset a shows the population by counties of Michigan in 1860. These are shown in five classifications. Inset b shows the population of Michigan by counties according to the census of 1920, also shown in five classes. Inset c is a reproduction of the Commissioner of Immigration Map for 1860. This is a very useful reference for Michigan at this date. It shows the railroads and county organization and the location of all cities and villages. The table gives the population, the number of acres, the number of farms, the number of acres of improved land and other statistics for each county in 1880.

In preparing these maps Mr. Burkhart has done a considerable amount of special research respecting routes of explorers, location of Indian tribes, the mapping of the counties outside of Michigan, route of "Walk-In-The-Water," original place names, location of fur trading posts, seats of justice, original Indian names of counties, population of counties, 1837, population of towns and cities, 1860, railroad extension by 1860 and county seats in 1860.

A Manual has been prepared to accompany the maps, in which the author presents the story of Michigan where it has a definite geographical relationship.

STORIES OF BAY VIEW. By Emma Lamb Baker. A Book of Reminiscences and Romances. Printed for the author by the Caxton Press, pp. 136. Price \$1.

The religious camp-meeting is an institution dear to the hearts of the pioneers of Michigan, as of many another state, and dear to many men and women of today. Those who have not themselves attended one have doubtless heard grandfather and grandmother tell of their experiences. In *Stories of Bay View*, Mrs. Baker has pictured the early Bay View camp-meetings against a background of rare natural beauty. The little book breathes the odor of balsam and pine as well as a sweet spirit of kindness and friendliness.

The volume is in two parts. The first is a collection of short reminiscences of Bay View, most of them not over a page long. One

type of these entrics is the description of personal interviews of the author with noted men and women who have come to Bay View at camp-meeting time either for rest or to lecture. Among these are such notables as Kate Douglas Wiggin, Dr. Gunsaulus, Frances E. Willard, and Madam Schumann-Heink. Another type is the clever anecdote and witticism, told usually in connection with occurrences at camp-meeting. In the second part, the author gives wings to her imagination, blending fact with fancy; she tells a story easily and well and has grouped these brief narratives under the head, "Romances," which keep the Bay View setting and the religious motif.

The following short description of the change of seasons at Bay View is very pleasing and is a good example of the author's style:

"Autumn flashed its beauty upon us through Indian summer days, and as we watched the gold and crimson of the forest-crowned hills as they were reflected in the beautiful bay, we said, 'Surely Bay View was never more lovely.'

"Winter came. Deep snow everywhere, untrodden, unspoiled; cottages roofed with it, hemlocks and firs laden with it, hedges and fences buried 'neath great, soft white banks.

"Silence everywhere, unbroken by shout of pleasure, or sound of toil. Even the bay, weary of hurling its angry waves against the shore, sank to rest. We looked out on a wide white expanse with purple hills beyond. The frozen bay is changeless now save when sunsets gild it with rosy light. Bay View lay like a sleeping beauty waiting her lover's kiss to wake her to joyous life.

"To the quiet dwellers here, the world a noisy stir seemed faint and far away. No cloistered nun ever had more peaceful dwelling. The days, all alike, each a white pearl, slipped by with gentle touch of rest and healing.

"Who has not seen Bay View in winter, knows not all her beauty.

"Shy, reluctant spring came. White sails floated like butterflies over sunlit waves; terraces were white with wild cherry blossoms; trailing arbutus, 'sweetest flower that turns its face to the northern sky,' greeted us with its rosy bloom; wake robin, spring beauties, violets golden nodded at our very door.

"Angels now were on the wing. The song sparrow, robin, wren, thrush, purple finch, gave us every fragrant dawn a free concert, and we said, 'Bay View is so heavenly, let's stay as long as we live.'

BALLADS AND SONGS OF THE SHANTY-BOY. Collected and Edited by Franz Rickaby, Assistant Professor of English, Pomona College. Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. 244. Price \$3.50.

The best statement of the nature and purpose of this volume is contained in these modest words of Mr. Rickaby:

The Ballads and songs recorded in the following pages have been gathered by me during the past seven years from men who worked in the woods of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, mainly during the Golden Age of American Lumbering (1870-1900).

Even a cursory acquaintance with the shanty-boy reveals him as a striking American frontier figure, with a mode of life as peculiarly his own, a personality as marked, as that of any of our other frontiersmen. He was, it must be admitted, destructive in his occupation; he cannot be credited with having been anything like the constructive factor in our national development that the cowboy was. But he was the produce of a mighty industry blindly forced by the sudden growth of a mightier nation; and the person who shall study that industry and the men it required and produced may find the shanty-boy to have preserved and contributed to the American Spirit some very desirable qualities.

The definition of these qualities is not the purpose of the present volume, except as they may appear in songs and ballads. It is rather to pay tribute to the shanty-boy, and perhaps enrich the holdings of subsequent generations as well, by recording in as effective form as possible the songs and ballads he made and sang. No group ever celebrated itself in song and ballad more than did the shanty-boys of the Golden Age.

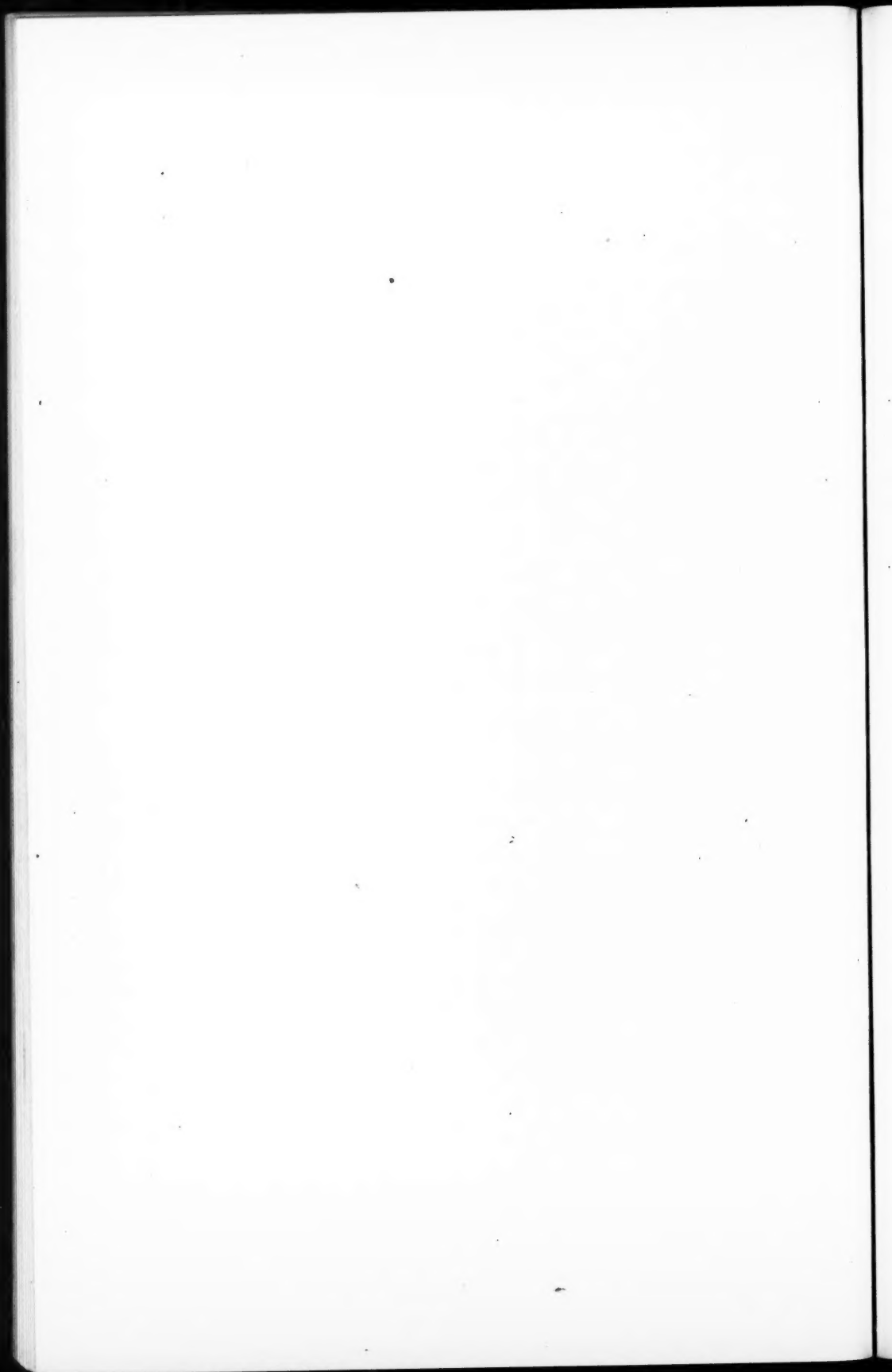
The preservation of song anywhere except in the human soul and voice is at best a process of questionable success. It may be as the little old lady of the North Countree sadly intimated to Sir Walter Scott: that to print a ballad of the people is to destroy it. But printing seems to be about the best method we have at our disposal, inasmuch as the number of those who care to learn and sing the old songs seems to be even less than negligible. The printing of the bare words of a ballad, however, without its melodic medium, seems to me to fall far short of preservation. This statement may be entirely debatable; but my feeling, based upon a considerable experience in presenting folk-song to present-day audiences, is that American balladry without its "air" is ineffective, sometimes even ugly, like a boat hauled up on the shore.

It is in accordance with this feeling, that the melodies given me for the various pieces in this collection receive their full share of attention. It is with regret that I am obliged to record a few compositions

for which no tunes were furnished me. I have done so only on the supposition that half a loaf is better than none.

The original intention of making this an anthology of only such songs and ballads as belonged body and soul to the shanty-boy, and of including all obtainable variants and fragments of all of these, gave way later to the idea of excluding for the most part variants and fragments and including instead a number of other songs and ballads which the shanty-boy sang, although they did not directly reflect life in the woods. Thus in this volume of shanty-songs the sea, the Great Lakes, the battlefield (at home and abroad), the prize-ring, and the paths of common life are represented, as well as the pineries.

INDEX
MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE
VOLUME X, 1926



MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

VOLUME IX, 1925

INDEX

- Adams, James Truslow, *Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776*, reviewed, 308
- Adams, R. G., *History of the Foreign Policy of the United States*, reviewed, 661
- Adler, August, donor to Pioneer Museum, 250
- Agricultural College, see Michigan State College
- Alcona, meaning, 647
- Alger (county), meaning, 647
- Allegan, meaning, 647
- Allegan County, newspaper clippings of H. H. Hutchins, 98-99
- Allen, John K., donor to Pioneer Museum, 250
- Alpena, meaning, 647
- American Historical Association, campaign for endowment fund, 455-456
- American history, *Recent American History* (Shippee), reviewed, 144-145
- American Revolution, Daughters of, see Daughters of the American Revolution
- Ames, Harriet, auditorium dedicated in memory of, 306
- Andrews, Mrs. Lucy F., quoted on Mrs. Stone's influence, 73-74
- Ann Arbor *Argus*, friendly to Dr. Tappan, 508
- Antrim, origin, 647
- Apportionment bills, in coalition legislature of 1891, 579
- Arbutus, see Trailing Arbutus
- Archeological Society, see Michigan State Archeological Society
- Archeology, Wisconsin Historical Museum robbed, 134; talk on mounds and garden beds by Dana P. Smith, 134; papers by George R. Fox at Springfield, Ill., 134; movement to mark points of interest, 135; implements found in Saginaw Valley by R. W. Stroebel, 135; explorations by Dr. Hinsdale, 136; preservation of Norton Group of Indian mounds, 136; Indian relics collected by Vina Sherwood-Adams, 137-142; collection of Indian relics made by Fred Dustin, 297-301; researches in Saginaw Valley hummocks, 301-302; *Primitive Man in Michigan* (Hinsdale), reviewed, 481-483; see also Michigan State Archeological Society
- Archival building, at Washington, D. C., plans for, 643
- Archives, report on work of Archives Division of Historical Commission, 243; see also Manuscripts
- Arenac, meaning, 647
- Association for the study of Negro Life and History, collection of letters written by Negroes made by, 125-126
- Auburn Theological Seminary, Dr. Tappan student at, 17-19
- Australian ballot, adopted by coalition legislature, (1891), 576
- Authors Association, see Michigan Authors Association
- Automobile industry, Detroit, 616 ff
- Automobiles, The Ford Collection at Dearborn; the Automobile Exhibit (Haigh), 384-399

- Avery, Miss Clara A., notes concerning organization of Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, 231-232; address before Michigan State Federation of Women's Club, 534
- Aviation, *The First World Flight, Being the Personal Narratives of Lowell Smith, Leslie Arnold, Erik Nelson, Henry Ogden, Leigh Wade, John Harding* (Thomas), reviewed, 309-310
- Bad Axe, origin of name, 302
- Bailey, Jarvis, association with Brent family, 119-122
- Baker, Emma Lamb, *Stories of Bay View*, reviewed, 665
- Baker, Jessie Beal, *An American Pioneer in Science: The Life and Service of William James Beal*, reviewed, 145
- Baker, Ray Stannard, *An American Pioneer in Science: The Life and Service of William James Beal*, reviewed, 145
- Ball, John, Autobiography of John Ball, reviewed, 480
- Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy* (Rickaby), reviewed, 667
- Banking, conditions in early days in Michigan, 165-167
- Banks, Dr. Sarah Gertrude, death announced, 259
- Baptist Michigan Christian Herald*, quoted, in defense of Dr. Tappan, 509
- Bar, see Michigan Bar
- Baraga (county), origin, 648
- Barnard, Miss Emily, donor to Pioneer Museum, 250
- Barry (county), origin, 648
- Barry, Gov. John S., photostat copies of letters for Three Rivers Public Library, 304-305
- Bay County Historical Society, annual meeting, 629
- Bay (county), origin, 648
- Bay View, stories of, see Baker
- Beal, William James, *An American Pioneer in Science: The Life and Service of William James Beal* (Baker and Baker), reviewed, 145
- Belknap, Charles E., *Legend of the Trailing Arbutus*, 323-326
- Belle Isle, purchase promoted by *Detroit News*, 31-32
- Benjamin, Percy W., sketch of Thomas L. L. Brent, 118-122
- Benton Harbor, interurban strife with St. Joseph, 578-579
- Benzle, meaning, 648
- Berrien County, Fifty Year Club, annual meeting, 628; Indian tradition of lead mine, 642; origin, 648
- Bibliography, additions to library of Marquette County Historical Society, 113-114, 295; additions to Burton Historical Collections, 114-115; history, 189, 191, 241-242, 315, 316; history and political science publications of University, 296-297; legal, 187, 188, 191, 192
- Bicycles, in Ford Collection at Dearborn, 591
- Biographical sketches, collection of material for sketches by Historical Commission, 126-127; Blackbird, Chief Andrew, 233-240; Campbell, James Valentine, 188-190; Cassidy, Thomas, 100-104; Christianity, Isaac P., 183-188; Cooley, Thomas McIntyre, 190-192; Dee, Michael J., 26-38; Felch, Alpheus, 157-174; Graves, Benjamin F., 183; Hathaway, William M., 175-181; Loomis, Charles A., 212-220; MacGulpin, Alexander, 87-96; Rich, Governor John T., 463-465; Schoolcraft, Henry R., 350-352; Whitman, Walt, 257; *Autobiography of John Ball*, reviewed, 480
- Bishop, W. W., list of words donated to University Library by Mrs. James H. Campbell, 123-124
- Blackbird, Chief Andrew, *Chief Andrew Blackbird* (Swift), 233-240; information about from Ivan Swift, 471

- Blair, Gov. Austin, attacked by W. F. Storey, 531-532
- Botany, *An American Pioneer in Science: The Life and Service of William James Beal* (Baker and Baker), 145
- Boulders, see Monuments
- Boundary, controversy with Ohio, 165
- Bowdoin College, Alpheus Felch student at, 161
- Branch (county), origin, 648
- Brass products, Detroit, 611
- Brazee, Lloyd, theatrical and newspaper work, 312-314
- Brent, Charlotte, account of, 119-122
- Brent, Henry, account of, 119-121
- Brent, Thomas L. L., sketch of by Percy W. Benjamin, 118-122
- Brent Creek, origin of name, 119
- Brock, Mrs. L. P., notes on Alex. MacGulpin, 638
- Brown, Charles E., report on robbing of Wisconsin Historical Museum, 134
- Brown, George W., *The First St. Lawrence Deepening Scheme*, 593-605
- Brown, Rollo Walter, quoted on creative-mindedness, 258
- Bruce, Mrs. Erwin, donor to Pioneer Museum, 250
- Brunnow, D., services secured for the University by Dr. Tappan, 496, 507
- Buchanan, S. A., donor to Pioneer Museum, 250
- Buckhorn Road, (St. Joseph Co.), early settlements on, 564
- Buckhorn Tavern, (St. Joseph Co.), described, 560
- Buckhart Michigan History Series*, *The*, reviewed, 663
- Burnett, Mrs. C. J., donor to Pioneer Museum, 250
- Burr, Dr. C. B., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Burton, Clarence M., *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922*, reviewed, 143
- Burton Historical Collection, report on additions to by Miss Krum, 114-116; report on year's activities of, 275-278; *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, contents noted, 296, 475; see also Detroit Public Library
- Cady, C. C., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Calhoun (county), origin, 648
- Calhoun, John C., Gov. Felch's reminiscences of, 171
- California Land commission, Gov. Felch member of, 172-173
- Calkins, A. E., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Calkins, Harriet, information about requested by F. L. Hadley, 306-307
- Campbell, Mrs. James H., list of works donated by to University Library, 123-124; work noted and death announced, 258-259; photostat copies of Gov. Barry's letters to Three Rivers Public Library, 304-305; researches at Mackinac Island, on Mme. La Framboise, 639
- Campbell, James Valentine, biographical sketch, 188-190
- Campbell, Rev. Thomas J., death announced, 260
- Car building, Detroit, 610
- Carlton Memorial Association, unveiling of bronze tablet at Nelson Wolcott home, 260-261
- Carlton, S. H., reminiscences of General W. R. Shafter, 265-267; reminiscences of Civil War, 468-471
- Cass County, centennial celebration, 105; county name, origin, 648
- Cass, Lewis, Dr. Quaife's report on existence and location of letters of, 127-131; Senator Charles A. Loomis, opposed to, 214, 215-220
- Cassidy, Ex-Lieut. James, arrested by British, 100-101
- Cassidy, Thomas, information on available and requested, 100-104
- Cassidy, Thomas E., letter relative to information on Thomas Cassidy, 100-104

- Cassopolis *Democrat*, quoted, against Dr. Tappan, 505
- Catholic missions, in northern Michigan, 234
- Catlin, George B., *Little Journeys in Journalism*; Michael J. Dee, 26-38; city of Chicago daughter of Detroit, 118; *Wilbur F. Storey*, 515-533; notes on prominent Michigan newspaper men, 639
- Census, see Population
- Centennial Celebrations, in southern Michigan, 104-105.
- Centerville *Chronicle*, quoted, against Dr. Tappan, 504
- Central Michigan Centennial, celebration, 105-108
- Champney, Mrs. Stella M., sketch of origin and development of *Michigan News Index*, 269-275
- Chaney, Reuben S., partner of W. F. Storey, 519
- Charlevoix, county name, origin, 648
- Chase, Lew Allen, notes on activities of Marquette County Historical Society, 112-114; teaching in University of Michigan, 261; report of Marquette County Historical Society for 1925-26, 280-281
- Cheboygan, meaning, 648
- Chicago fire, destroyed W. F. Storey's newspaper plant, 527
- Chicago, George B. Catlin's letter relative to Chicago being daughter of Detroit, 118
- Chicago *Times*, under the management of W. F. Storey, 524
- Chippewa, county name, origin, 648
- Christianity, Isaac P., biographical sketch, 183-188
- Churches, influence in early days, 201-202
- Churns, in the Ford Collection at Dearborn, 584
- Clare, county name, origin, 649
- Clay, Henry, Gov. Felch's reminiscences of, 168-171
- Cleveland, Grover, flag used in campaign property of Schoolcraft County Pioneer and Historical Society, 267-269
- Clinton County Historical Pageant, 633
- Clinton, county name, origin, 649
- Coalition Legislature of 1891 (White), 574-581
- Coburn, Mrs. Mary A., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Colburn, Henry C., *The Story of Ypsilanti*, reviewed, 146-147
- Coldwater, State Public Home for Dependent Children, tragedy, 577
- Cole, Mrs. W. K., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Commission, see Michigan Historical Commission
- Constitution, *The Genesis of the Constitution of the United States of America* (Long), reviewed, 488-489
- Cooley, Justice Thomas M., Michael J. Dee's opinion of, 31
- Cooley, Thomas McIntyre, biographical sketch, 190-192
- Cooper, Mrs. S. E., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Corbin, Inez Culver, author of Michigan (a poem), 627
- Cordell, H. M., *The Henry Ford Collection at Dearborn*; *The Home Life of Early Days*, 39-48
- Corp, David, information about Saint Helena Island, 412; sketch of incident on St. Helena Island, 439
- Council of Research, collection of material for biographical sketches, 126-127
- County names in Michigan, meaning, 646 ff
- Cradles, in Ford Collection at Dearborn, 586
- Crapo Valley, Charlotte Robbins McFarlane's reminiscences, 303
- Crawford, county name, origin, 649
- Croghan, George, associated with Thomas Hutchins, 358-361
- Croly, Mrs. Jennie C., quoted on women's clubs, 60-61
- Cummins, Mrs. Mary B., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251

- Custer, George A., semi-centennial celebration, 634
- Cutcheon, Byron M., picture of University in 1853, 210-211
- Daniells, J. T., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Daughters of the American Revolution, markers unveiled by Abiel Fellows chapter, 305; proposal of Owosso chapter to beautify land considered as site for State Capitol, 305
- Davis, Mrs. Marian Morse, donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Davis, Marion M., notes on Mrs. Campbell's researches on Mme. LaFramboise, 639; *Stories of Saint Helena Island*, 411-446
- Davis, William Stearns, *A Short History of the Near East*, 661
- Dearborn, interesting facts in An Historic Landmark, 303-304
- DeCou, Marcella, *About Museums: More or Less*, 374-383
- Dee, Michael J., *Little Journeys in Journalism*; *Michael J. Dee* (Catlin), 26-38
- Delamarter, J. B., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Deland, Charles J., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Delta, county name, origin, 649
- Democratic party, opposition of Senator Loomis to General Cass, 214-220
- Description and travel, *Tecumseh and Richardson. The Story of a Trip to Walpole Island and Port Sarnia* (Richardson), reviewed, 484-485
- Detroit, George B. Catlin's letter about Chicago being daughter of, 118; *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922* (Burton, Stocking and Miller), reviewed, 143; *Public Education in Detroit* (Moehlman), reviewed, 486-488; fifty years of industrial progress (1874-1924), 606-626
- Detroit Board of Commerce, 620
- Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, friendly to Dr. Tappan, 508
- Detroit Employers' Association, 623
- Detroit Free Press, under the management of W. F. Storey, 521 ff
- Detroit Historical Society, See Societies
- Detroit Public Library, Dr. Quaife's report on Cass letters, 127-131; see also Burton Historical Collection
- DeWitt, John, Henry Philip Tappan's estimate of, 8
- DeWitt family, genealogy, 7-8
- Dickie, Dr. Samuel, death of, 97
- Dickinson, county name, origin, 649
- Dondineau, Arthur, *Our State of Michigan*, reviewed, 310-312
- Dudley, Mrs. W. C., donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Duncan, M. M., communication from J. E. Jopling relative to discovery of iron ore in Upper Peninsula, 116-118
- Dumbrille, Harry R., Poem based on legend of origin of Manitou Islands, 473-474
- Dunnack, Henry E., *Maine Forts*, reviewed, 486
- Dustin, Fred, collection of Indian relics, 297-301
- Earle, Miss Helen, donor to Pioneer Museum, 251
- Eaton, county name, origin, 649
- Education, *Public Education in Detroit* (Moehlman), reviewed, 486-488
- Eimer, Dr. Ernest, active in Michigan Society of Optometrists, 81
- Ellis, A. G., donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Emmet, county name, origin, 649
- Europe, William M. Hathaway's visit to, 177-180
- Exeter Academy, Alpheus Felch, student at, 158
- Farnsworth, Elon, qualifications for Regent of University, 208

- Federation of Women's Clubs, see Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs; Women's Clubs
- Felch, Abijah, settled in Maine, 157
- Felch, Alpheus, *Alpheus Felch: An Appreciation*, 157-174
- Felch, Daniel, merchant in Maine, 157
- Ferguson, William P. F., remarks on Isle Royale, 471-473
- Ferrey, Mrs. M. B., *Donors and Their Gifts to the Pioneer Museum, State Office Building, from January 1, 1925, to December 31, 1925*, 250-254
- Fifty Years of Industrial Progress in Detroit*, (Stocking), 606-626
- Finney, Byron A., notes on first commencement program of U. of M. and bell, 477-478
- Fish and fisheries, on Saint Helena Island, 419-421, 422
- Fisher family, correction relative to descendants participating in Grand Blanc celebration, 307
- Fish, Mrs. Minnie Wood, donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Fitzgerald, John W., letter to newspaper men and women of Michigan, 109-110
- Flags, flag used in Cleveland campaign property of Schoolcraft County Pioneer and Historical Society, 267-269
- Fletcher, Judge William A., report of Pioneer Society committee on marking of grave, 452-453
- Flushing, Thomas L. L. Brent at, 118-122
- Ford, Henry, Pioneer Collection at Dearborn, 39-48, 384-399; 582-592; founding of automobile industry in Detroit, 617 ff
- Foster, George G., donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Foster, William B., donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Fowle, Otto, *Sault Ste. Marie and Its Great Waterway*, reviewed, 479-480
- Fox, George R., papers at Springfield, Ill., 134
- Fueter, Eduard, *World History, 1815-1920*, reviewed, 660
- Fuller, George N., *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, Vol. I, reviewed, 145-146; *Historic Michigan*, reviewed, 315-317
- Fuller, Margaret, account of boat trip on lakes in forties, 195-196
- Fur Trade, on Saint Helena Island, 418-419
- Gagnieur, William F., *What the Indians Knew About Manistique and Schoolcraft County*, 350-357; work of, 416
- Genealogy, Henry Philip Tappan's family, 6-7; DeWitt family, 7-8; Dr. John Parker Stoddard's family, 24-25; Ivan Swift's ancestry, 87 (n)
- Genesee, county name, origin, 649
- Gibault, Alexander, Ivan Swift's account of, 404-410
- Giles, Eva Belle, editor *The Interchange*, 540
- Gillett, Captain James B., *Six Years with the Texas Rangers, 1875-1881*, reviewed, 308-309
- Gladwin, county name, origin, 649
- Gogebic, county name, origin, 649
- Gordon, Gov. James Wright, residence in Marshall still standing, 304
- Governors, *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, Vol. I (Fuller), reviewed, 145-146
- Grand Blanc, Central Michigan Centennial, 105-108
- Grand Rapids, *Old Grand Rapids: Pen Pictures* (White), reviewed, 312-315; errors in Mrs. Moore's booklet corrected, 477; first annual convention of Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, 534 ff
- Grand Traverse country, first bride in, 420
- Grand Traverse, county name, origin, 650

- Grand Traverse region, report on, 630; see also Baker
- Grant, Mrs. Caroline Felch, death announced, 260
- Gratiot, county name, origin, 650
- Graves, Benjamin F., biographical sketch, 183
- Graves, H. C., of the Detroit Tribune, exploit in reporting meeting of coalitionists in legislature of 1891, 580
- Great Lakes to the Ocean Deep Waterway, early experiments, 593-605
- Greenville Academy, Tappan educated at, 12
- Griffin, letter and editorial comment on fate of, 262-265
- Groesbeck, Gov. Alex. J., donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Hadley, F. L., letter asking information about Harriet Calkins, 306-307
- Haackel, Prof. Ernst, *The Riddle of the Universe*, reviewed, by Michael J. Dee, 35-36
- Haigh, Henry A., *The Ford Historical Collections at Dearborn; The Automobile Exhibit*, 384-399; *Some Interesting Things in the Ford Historical Collections*, 582-592
- Handbook of American Historical Societies*, reviewed, 656
- Harry, Rep. William, fight against apportionment bill in coalition legislature of 1891, 579
- Hathaway, William M., *Little Journeys in Journalism: William M. Hathaway* (White), 175-181
- Haven, E. O., defends Dr. Tappan, 506, 508
- Haven, George, donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Hayes, Captain Edmund, guardian to Alpheus Felch, 158
- Henderson, Robert, donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Henrotin, Mrs. Ellen M., influence in formation of women's clubs, 65-66; activity in interest of women's clubs, 221, 222, 225, 226, 230
- Hillsdale, county name, origin, 650
- Hinsdale, Dr. W. B., papers quoted, 133; archeological explorations by, 136; *Primitive Man in Michigan*, reviewed, 481-483
- Historical Commission, see Michigan Historical Commission
- Historical Society, see Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society; see also Handbook; names of counties; societies
- History, see Local history
- History and Historical Evidence* (Johnson), reviewed, 656
- History of the Foreign Policy of the United States* (Adams), 661
- Holland, W. M., letters donated to University Library by Mrs. James H. Campbell, 124
- Holland, Tappan's opinion of, 8-9
- Holland, convention of Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society at, 447-449
- Homeopathy, materials relating to, donated by Miss Sawyer, 125
- Hoppin, Ruth, article on, by Sue I. Silliman, 550 ff; *Personal Recollections of Pioneer Days*, 560 ff
- Hosford, Franklin Homer, newspaper work, 314-315
- Houghton, county name, origin, 650
- Houghton, Douglass, letters donated to University Library by Mrs. James H. Campbell, 124
- Huron, county name, origin, 650
- Hutchins, H. H., scrapbook of newspaper clippings on Allegan county, 98-99; donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Hutchins, Thomas, *The "Hutchins" Map of Michigan* (Jenks), 358-373; *Journal* quoted, 365-373

- Illustrations, Henry Philip Tappan, 5; Dr. John P. Stoddard, 22; An Old Inn Kitchen—Built in 1686, Massachusetts, 40; specimens in the section devoted to home life in Ford Collection at Dearborn, 41-47; Dr. Ernest Eimer, Max Redelshimer, Nelson K. Standart, 77; Alex. MacGulpin, 89; [Alpheus Felch] at Home in Ann Arbor, 159; Alpheus Felch in His Study, 169; James V. Campbell, Thomas M. Cooley, Benjamin F. Graves, Isaac P. Christiancy, 185; The Campus in 1855, 197; Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, 223; The "Hutchins" Map of Michigan, 363; The Automobile Exhibit in the Ford Historical Collections at Dearborn, 386-399; entrance to the old covered bridge at Mottville, 401; The Old Lighthouse at Harbor Point where Mrs. Williams wrote *A Child of the Sea*, 413; Dedication of Memorial to the Unknown Soldiers who fell in the Battle of Mackinac Island, Aug. 4, 1814, 466; Henry Philip Tappan, 497; Wilbur F. Storey, 517; Irma T. Jones, 535; Kate E. Ward, 541; Martha A. Keating, 545; Ruth Hoppin, 551; John T. Rich, 571; Unique Specimens devoted to pioneer life selected at random in the Ford Collection at Dearborn, 583-592; Map showing Territory tributary to Great Lakes—St. Lawrence Waterway, 595; Old Board of Trade, 1865-1882, 607; Chamber of Commerce, 1896, 613; Bronze tablet commemorating the two founders of Owosso, A. L. and B. O. Williams, 632
- Indians, relics collected by Vina Sherwood-Adams, 137-142; Ojibwas and Chippewas in northern Michigan, 233-234; sale of intoxicating liquors prohibited, 237; early customs, 237-238; Chief Blackbird on Indian education, 238; "The Indian's Lament," 239; *What the Indians Knew about Manistique and Schoolcraft County* (Gagnieur), 350-357; number of Indian Warriors listed in article on "Hutchins" map of Michigan, 365; account of in *Hutchins Journal*, 365-373; on Saint Helena Island, 416-418; life gathered from relics, 459; (St. Joseph Co.) pioneer story of, 561 ff; see also Archaeology
- Indian Mission (Baraga), donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Indian legends, see Legends
- Indian tradition, Berrien County, 642
- Industrial progress of Detroit (1874-1924), 606-626
- Ingham, county name, origin, 650
- Ingham County Democrat*, trick played by W. F. Storey, to gain State tax advertising contract, 520
- Ingham Democrat*, trick paper, printed by W. F. Storey to get a State contract, 499
- Interchange, The*, edited by Belle M. Perry, 540
- Internal improvements, undertaken by the State in early days, 195
- Ionia, county name, origin, 650
- Iosco, county name, origin, 650
- Iron, county name, origin, 650
- Iron ore, J. E. Jopling's communication relative to discovery of, 116-118
- Iron products, Detroit, 610, 616
- Isaac, Bert, information from by Father Gagnieur, 356
- Isabella, county name, origin, 651
- Isle Royale, remarks of William P. F. Ferguson, 471-473
- Itzenhouser, L. W., donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Jackson, county name, origin, 651

- Jackson, the home of W. F. Storey, 516
- Jackson Patriot, founded by W. F. Storey, 499, 519
- James, Robert P., death, 634
- Jenks, William L., *Senator Charles A. Loomis*, 212-220; *The "Hutchins" Map of Michigan*, 358-373; on meaning of county names, 646
- Johnson, Allen, *The Historian and Historical Evidence*, reviewed, 656
- Johnson, Mrs. A. B., donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Johnson, Miss Marion, donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Johnson, Thomas E., letter relative to possible remains of the Griffin, 262-263
- Jones, Irma T., *History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs*, 60-75, 221-232, 534-549
- Jopling, J. E., on discovery of iron ore in Upper Peninsula, 116-118
- Journalism, *Little Journeys in Journalism: Michael J. Dee* (Catlin), 26-38; *Little Journeys in Journalism: William M. Hathaway* (White), 175-181; *Little Journeys in Journalism: Wilbur F. Storey* (Catlin), 515-533
- Kalamazoo County Historical Society, annual meeting, 630; see also Societies
- Kalamazoo, county name, origin, 651
- Kalamazoo *Gazette*, quoted, against Dr. Tappan, 504
- Kalkaska, county name, origin, 651
- Kane, Grace F., *Recollections of Early Days at Mackinac*, 327-349
- Kedzie, Dr. Frank S., history of Michigan State College to be prepared by, 474-475
- Kent, county name, origin, 651
- Keweenaw, county name, origin, 651
- Kielly, Mrs. Cherry, donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Kingsley, James, qualifications for Regent of University, 208
- Knapp, Mrs. Kittle, donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Krum, Miss G. B., report on additions to Burton Historical Collection, 114-116; fourth annual report of Detroit Historical Society, 278-280
- Labor conditions, Detroit, 622 ff
- LaFramboise, Mme., notes on, by Marion Davis, 639-641
- Lake, county name, origin, 651
- Lake Itasca, origin of name, 352
- Lane, John, biographical sketch, 636
- Lansing, *A Sixth Grade Project in Local History* (Wagenvoord), 49-59
- Lansing *Journal*, quoted, against Dr. Tappan, 505, 506
- Lapeer, county name, origin, 651
- Larzelere, F. E., donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Lawrence, Lucretia Williams, wife of Alpheus Felch, 167
- Lawyers, see Michigan Bar
- Lead mine, Indian tradition of, in Berrien County, 642
- Leelanau, county name, origin, 651
- Legends, *Legend of the Trailing Arbutus* (Belknap), 323-326; Saint Helena Island, 412-415; origin of Manitou Islands, 473-474
- Legislature, see Coalition Legislature
- Lenawee, county name, origin, 651
- Lenawee County, centennial celebration, 105
- Leshner, Mrs. Flora, donor to Pioneer Museum, 252
- Libraries, history of libraries and library service in Michigan planned, 475
- Liquor traffic, early laws relative to, 205-206; see also Temperance

- Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (Rusk), reviewed, 662
- Little, Dr. Clarence Cook, inaugurated president of University of Michigan, 97
- Littlejohn, Augustus, active in temperance work, 204-205
- Little Traverse, Chief Andrew Blackbird resident of, 236
- Local History, *A Sixth Grade Project in Local History* (Wagenvoort), 49-59
- Livingston, county name, origin, 652
- Log cabins, Michigan in log cabin stage of civilization in fifties, 196-197; demand for at summer resorts, 302
- London, William M. Hathaway's visit to, 177-180
- Long, Breckinridge, *The Genesis of the Constitution of the United States of America*, reviewed, 488-489
- Longyear, J. M., contents of collection presented to Marquette County Historical Society, 282-294
- Loomis, Senator Charles A., (Jenks), 212-220
- Loomis, Chester, father of Charles A. Loomis, 212, 213
- Lozier, Mrs. Jennie, quoted on women's clubs, 65
- Luce, county name, origin, 652
- Lumber camps, songs of, see Rickaby
- Lyon, Lucius, materials of donated to University Library by Mrs. James H. Campbell, 123-124
- McFarlane, Charlotte Robbins, reminiscences of Crapo Valley, 303
- McMillan, Senator James, Michael J. Dee's opinion of, 31
- Macatebenese, Chief, character of, 233; education and work of children of, 234
- MacGulpin, Alexander, *Alexander MacGulpin, Fisherman-Philosopher* (Swift), 87-96; notes on, by Mrs. L. P. Brock, 638
- Mackinac, county name, origin, 652
- Mackinac, *Recollections of Early Days at Mackinac* (Kane), 327-349
- Mackinac region, *Mackinackers* (Swift), 404-410
- Mackinac Island, memorial to unknown soldiers in Battle of Mackinac, 99-100, 467-468
- Macomb, county name, origin, 652
- Magazines, see Newspapers
- Maine, *Maine Forts* (Dunnack), reviewed, 486
- Manistee, county name, origin, 652
- Manistique, *What the Indians Knew About Manistique and Schoolcraft County* (Gagnieur), 350-357
- Manistee River, origin of name, 353-354
- Manitou Islands, tradition as to origin, 473-474
- Manne, Leslie, donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Manufactures, see Industry
- Manuscripts, donated by Mrs. James H. Campbell to University Library, 123-124; donated by Jenny T. Sawyer to Historical Commission, 125; added to Burton Historical Collection, 276; in J. M. Longyear collection presented to Marquette County Historical Society, 285-286; William Robertson procured for Burton Collection, 296; see also Archives
- Maps, in J. M. Longyear collection presented to Marquette County Historical Society, 286-289; see also Burkhart Michigan History Series; "The Hutchins" Map of Michigan (Jenks), 358-373
- Markers, see Monuments
- Marquette County Historical Society, see Societies

- Marquette, county name, origin, 652
- Marshall, residence of Gov. Gordon still standing, 304
- Mason, county name, origin, 652
- Mason, Governor Stevens T., materials of donated to University Library by Mrs. James H. Campbell, 123-124
- Mecosta, county name, origin, 652
- Menominee, county name, origin, 652
- Michigan, early history, 165-167; population in early days, 194; The "*Hutchins*" Map of Michigan (Jenks), 358-373; Michigan (a poem), 627; Michigan Agricultural College, see Michigan State College
- Michigan Authors Association, list of Executive Council, 476
- Michigan Bar, *Reminiscences of The Early Michigan Bar* (Moore), 182-193
- Michigan Historical Commission, Dr. Sawyer's manuscripts presented to, 125; collection of material for biographical sketches, 126-127; Thirteenth annual report, 241-243
- Michigan history, *Our State of Michigan* (Dondineau and Spencer) reviewed, 310-312; *Historic Michigan* (Fuller), reviewed, 315-317
- Michigan History Magazine*, list of articles for the year, 242
- Michigan Library Association, history of libraries and library service in Michigan planned, 475
- Michigan Manufacturers' Association, origin, 624
- Michigan News Index*, Mrs. Champney's sketch of origin and development of, 269-275
- Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Tenth Upper Peninsula meeting, 97-98; Holland meeting announced, 98; new members enrolled since Jan., 1925, 244-249; convention of the Society at Holland announced, 255; annual business meeting announced, 255; proposed amendments to constitution, 256; joint convention with Holland Public schools, 447-449; fifty-second annual convention, 449-453
- Michigan State Archeological Society, meeting of, 132-134; new members, 643
- Michigan State Board of Examiners in Optometry, creation of, 83-84
- Michigan State College, history to be prepared by Dr. Kedzie, 474-475
- Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, *History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs* (Jones), 60-75; 221-232, 534-549
- Michigan University, see University of Michigan
- Midland, county name, origin, 652
- Military drill, introduced in University of Michigan by President Tappan, 23
- Miller, A. O., theatrical work, 312-313
- Miller, Gordon K., *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922*, reviewed, 143
- Miner, Frank H., donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Missaukee, county name, origin, 652
- Missions and missionaries, Mission House conducted by Rev. W. M. Ferry at Mackinac Island, 327-329, 342
- Moak, Mrs. E. H., donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Moehlman, Arthur B., *Public Education in Detroit*, reviewed, 486-488
- Money, conditions in Michigan in Panic of 1837, 165-167
- Monroe, county name, origin, 653
- Monroe pageant, 633
- Montcalm, county name, origin, 653
- Montcalm County Pioneer Association, annual meeting, 628

- Montmorency, county name, origin, 653
- Monuments, on Mackinac Island to unknown soldiers in Battle of Mackinac, 99-100; tablet unveiled at Nelson Wolcott home, 260-261; markers unveiled by Abiel Fellows Chapter, D. A. R., 305; Judge Fletcher's grave marked by boulder, 452-453; unveiling memorial in honor of unknown dead soldiers in Battle of Mackinac Island, 467-468
- Moore, Andrew L., tribute to Justice Joseph B. Moore, 262
- Moore, Joseph B., *Reminiscences of the Early Michigan Bar*, 182-193; tributes at meeting of Oakland County Bar Association, 261-262; *Gov. John T. Rich*, 569-573
- Mormons, Saint Helena Island in controversy with, 423-428
- Morton, J. S., communication on navigation of St. Joseph River, 460-463
- Motors, manufacture of, Detroit, 624 ff
- Mottville, *The Old Mottville Bridge* (Smith), 402-403
- Munford, Mrs. Mary E., quoted on women's clubs, 66-67
- Muskegon, county name, origin, 653
- Museums, *About Museums, More or Less* (DeCou), 374-383; observations of Alexander G. Ruthven on folk museums, 456-458; *The Henry Ford Collection at Dearborn*, 39-48, 384-399, 582-592; articles in J. M. Longyear collection presented to Marquette County Historical Society, 290-294; *Donors and Their Gifts to the Pioneer Museum, State Office Building, from January 1, 1925, to December 31, 1925* (Ferrey), 250-254
- Nagle, Miss Emily, donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Negroes, collection of letters by negroes before Civil War made by Association for Study of Negro Life and History, 125-126
- Newaygo, county name, origin, 653
- Newspapers, clippings on Allegan County, 98-99; in J. M. Longyear Collection presented to Marquette County Historical Society, 289-290; Mrs. Champney's sketch of origin and development of *Michigan News Index*, 269-275; letter of John W. Fitzgerald to newspaper men and women relative to aid of press in Michigan history, 109-110; *Little Journeys in Journalism*, 26-39, 175-181, 515-533; see also *Michigan History Magazine*; Name of newspaper
- Ann Arbor *Argus*, William M. Hathaway's connection with, 176; friendly to Dr. Tappan, 509
- Ann Arbor *Journal*, William M. Hathaway's connection with, 180
- Baptist Michigan Christian Herald*, quoted, in defense of Dr. Tappan, 509
- Cassopolis *Democrat*, quoted, against Dr. Tappan, 505
- Centerville *Chronicle*, quoted against Dr. Tappan, 504
- Chicago *Times*, under the management of W. F. Storey, 524
- Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, friendly to Dr. Tappan, 508
- Detroit *Daily Post*, William M. Hathaway's connection with, 180
- Detroit *Free Press*, editorial on history, 110-111; quoted on Dr. Tappan, 199
- Detroit *News*, Michael J. Dee, editor of, 28-33
- Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer*, account of race at Eagle Harbor, 200
- Grand Rapids *Democrat*, William M. Hathaway's connection with, 181

- Grand Rapids *Herald*, editorial "The Power of Sincerity," 111-112; death of Mrs. James H. Campbell, 258-259
- Grand Rapids *Morning Dispatch*, William M. Hathaway's connection with, 181
- Grand Rapids *Press*, quoted on William M. Hathaway, 175
- Grand Rapids *Times*, William M. Hathaway's connection with, 180-181
- Ingham County *Democrat*, trick played by W. F. Storey, to gain State Tax advertising contract, 520
- Ingham *Democrat*, trick paper, printed by W. F. Storey, to get a State contract, 499
- Interchange*, edited by Belle M. Perry, 540
- Lansing *Journal*, quoted, against Dr. Tappan, 505, 506
- Michigan *Alumnus*, quoted on Indian life as gathered from relics, 459
- Michigan *News Index*, Mrs. Champney's sketch of origin and development of, 269-275
- News Reporter*, (1865), quoted, 558
- New York *World*, Michael J. Dee offered position on, 33-34
- Pontiac *Daily Press*, story of beginnings of Pontiac mentioned, 303
- Saturday Evening Post*, William M. Hathaway's connection with, 180
- Saugatuck *Commercial Record*, clippings on Allegan County, 98-99
- Washtenaw Whig*, friendly to Dr. Tappan, 508
- Western Chronicle*, (1858), quoted, 557
- Workman*, William M. Hathaway's connection with, 181
- Newspaper men, notes on prominent (Catlin), 639
- Newspapers and Newspaper Men, *Little Journeys in Journalism*, 26-39, 175-181, 515-533
- News Reporter* (1865), quoted, 558
- Northrup, H. Horatio, qualifications for Regent of University, 208
- Nott, Dr. Eliphalt, at Union College, 12-17
- Oakland County Bar Association, tributes to Justice Joseph B. Moore, 261-262
- Oakland, county name, origin, 653
- Oakland County Pioneer and Historical Society, annual meeting, 628
- Oceana, county name, origin, 653
- Ogemaw, county name, origin, 653
- Ohio, boundary controversy with Michigan, 165
- Ontonagon, county name, origin, 653
- Optometry, *Optometry in Michigan* (Scholler), 78-86
- Osceola, county name, origin, 653
- Osceola County, Charlotte Robbins MacFarlane's reminiscences of Crapo Valley, 303
- Oscoda, county name, origin, 653
- Otsego, county name, origin, 653
- Ottawa, county name, origin, 653
- Palmer, Charles H., qualifications for Regent of University, 207-208; efforts to secure president for University, 208-209
- Palmer, Mrs., donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Panic of 1837, financial distress in Michigan, 165-167
- Parsons, Andrew, qualifications for Regent of University, 208
- Patrons of Industry, in politics (1891), 574
- Patterson, Michael A., qualifications for Regent of University, 208
- Payne, Prof. William H., brief sketch, 555 (n); "Some Souvenirs of My Professional Life" quoted, 556
- Pendill, Olive, contents of J. M. Longyear collection presented to Marquette County Historical Society, 282-294

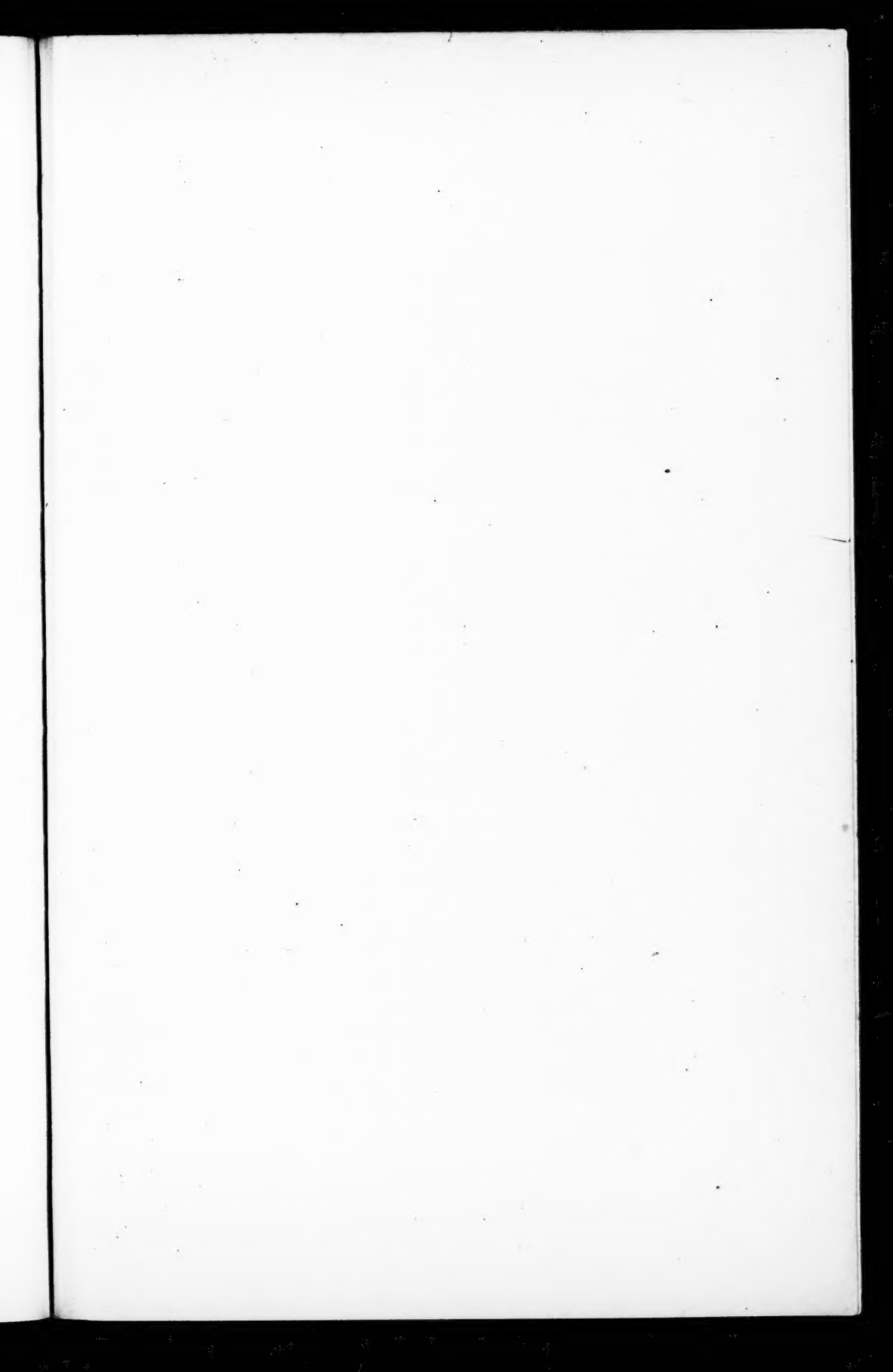
- Penoyer, William, association with Thomas Brent, 119-122
- Periodicals, see Newspapers
- Perry, Belle M., editor *The Interchange*, 540
- Perry, Mrs. Belle M., quoted on Mrs. Stone's influence on women's clubs, 71-72, 74
- Perry, Charles M., *Formative Influences in the Early Life of Henry Philip Tappan*, 5-19; *Dr. Tappan Comes to Michigan*, 194-211; *The Newspaper Attack On Dr. Tappan*, 495-514
- Pierce, John D., letter of donated to University Library by Mrs. James H. Campbell, 124
- Pioneer and Historical Society, see Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society
- Pioneer collection at Dearborn, household articles, 582-592
- Pioneer days, see Rickaby
- Pioneer life, *The Henry Ford Collection at Dearborn: The Home Life of Early Days* (Cordell), 39-48; *Recollections of Early Days at Mackinac* (Kane), 327-349; in article by Ruth Hoppin, 560 ff
- Pioneer Museum, see Museums
- Pioneers, *Pioneers! O Pioneers* (a poem), 153-156
- Pioneer reunions, 627 ff
- Pioneer societies, see Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society; names of counties; Societies
- Pioneer stories, see Baker
- Place names, interest of illustrated, 643; names of Michigan counties, 646 ff
- Politics, flag used in Cleveland's campaign for president, 267-269; see also Democratic party
- Pontiac, story of primitive beginnings mentioned, 303
- Population, Michigan, 194
- Porter, Mrs. Emily, donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Potter, W. W., review of *The Genesis of the Constitution of the United States of America* (Long), 488-489
- Pratt, Mrs. Jerry, donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Presque Isle, county name, origin, 654
- Presidential campaign, see Politics
- Primary schools, see Schools
- Prohibition, see Temperance
- Putnam's *History of the Michigan State Normal School*, quoted, 559
- Quaife, Dr. M. M., report on existence and location of Cass letters, 127-131; report on editorial projects of Burton Historical Collection, 277-278; papers obtained in Canada, 296
- Railroads, undertaken by State in early days, 195
- Railroad taxation, in coalition legislature of 1891, 575 ff
- Randall, Herbert, Alpheus Felch: An Appreciation, 157-174
- Reasoner, Mrs. Peter, donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Redelsheimer, Max, among first and oldest living optometrists in Michigan, 80
- Reed, Eliza T., quoted, 558
- Reed, Stephen, donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Rich, Gov. John T., biographical sketch, 463-465, 569-573
- Richards, James, professor of Christian Theology at Auburn Theological Seminary, 18-19
- Richardson, Major John, *Tecumseh and Richardson. The Story of a Trip to Walpole Island and Port Sarnia*, reviewed, 484-485
- Rickaby, Franz, *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy*, reviewed, 667
- Rivers, improvements planned in 30's, 196
- Roberts, Mary A. S., report on Grand Traverse region, 630
- Robertson, William, papers secured for Burton Historical Collection, 296

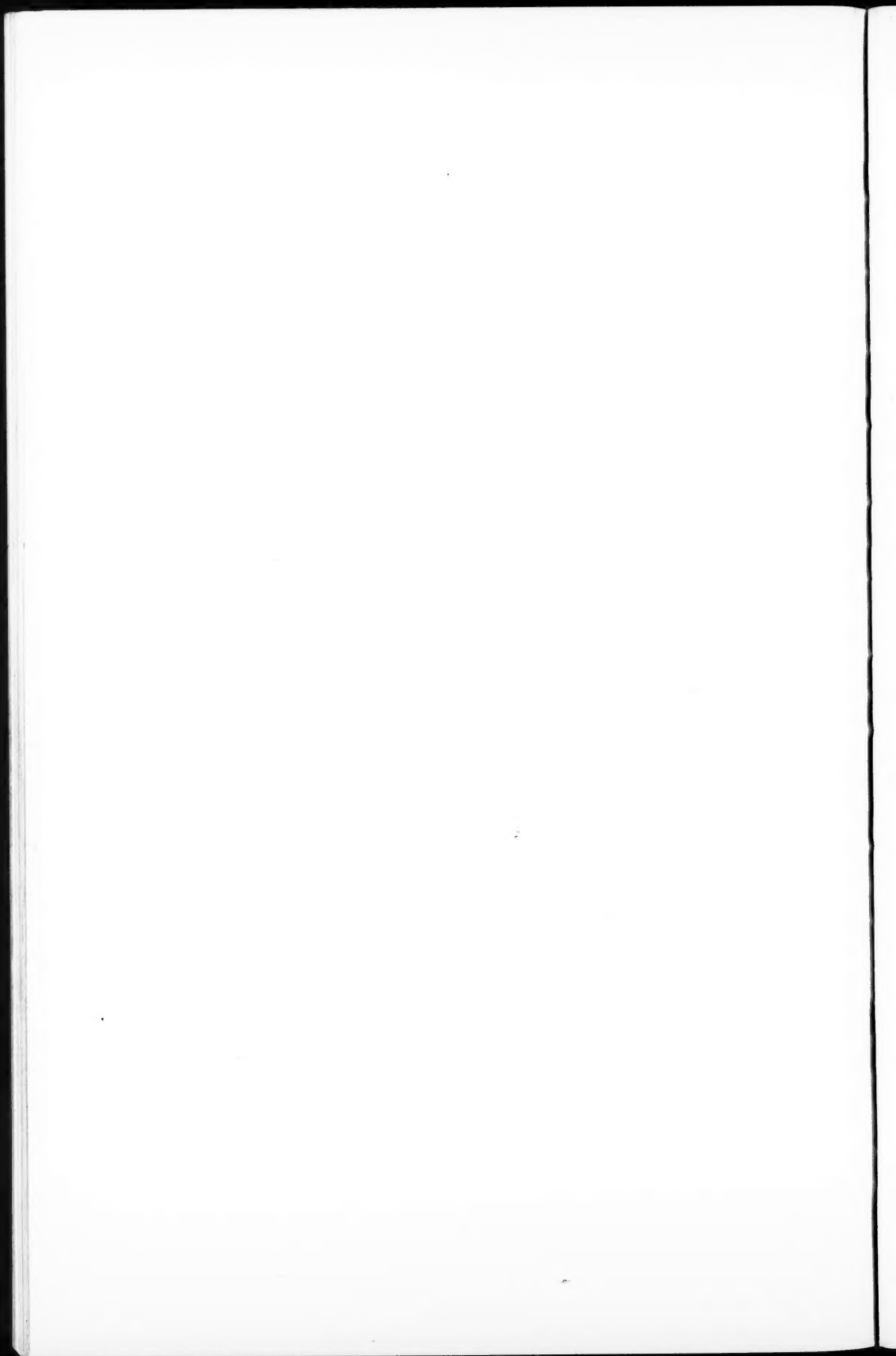
- Roscommon, county name, origin, 654
- Rupp, George, donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Rusk, Ralph Leslie, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, reviewed, 662
- Russell, Herbert, donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Ruthven, Alexander G., observations on folk museums, 456-458
- Saginaw, county name, origin, 654
- Saginaw, honored memory of first librarian, 306
- Saginaw Valley, implements found by R. W. Stroebel, 135; researches in hummocks, 301-302
- St. Clair, county name, origin, 654
- Saint Helena Island, *Stories of Saint Helena Island* (Davis), 411-446
- St. Joseph, county name, origin, 654
- St. Joseph, interurban strife with Benton Harbor, 578-579
- St. Joseph County, Frederick M. White's communication relative to vital records of, 122-123; *The Old Mottville Bridge* (Smith), 402-403
- St. Joseph River, J. S. Morton's account of navigation on, 460-463
- St. Lawrence and Great Lakes water way to the ocean, early experiments, 593-605
- Sanilac, county name, origin, 654
- Sault Ste. Marie, *Sault Ste. Marie and Its Great Waterway* (Fowle), reviewed, 479-480
- Sawdy, Frank M., donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Sawyer, Dr. Alfred Isaac, manuscripts of donated by Miss Sawyer, 125
- Sawyer, Miss Jenny T., donated manuscripts of father to Historical Commission, 125; donor to Pioneer Museum, 253
- Scholler, P., Optometry in Michigan, 78-86
- Schoolcraft, county name, origin, 654
- Schoolcraft, Henry R., biographical sketch, 350-352
- Schoolcraft County, *What the Indians Knew About Manistique and Schoolcraft County* (Gagnieur), 350-357
- Schoolcraft County Pioneer and Historical Society, see Societies
- Schools, article on primary school interest fund by Grace B. Wallace noted, 297; centennial of establishing of first school in Washtenaw County, 306
- Seul Choix, origin of name, 353
- Shafter, Gen. William R., reminiscences of by S. H. Carlton, 265-267
- Shattuck, Kenneth, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Shiawassee, county name, origin, 654
- Shiawassee Chapter, D. A. R., unveiling of bronze tablet at Owosso, 633
- Shiawassee County Historical Society, annual meeting, 627
- Shields, Mrs. Irene Pomeroy, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Shipbuilding, Detroit, 612, 626
- Shippee, Lester Burrell, *Recent American History*, reviewed, 144-145
- Short History of the Near East*, (Davis), reviewed, 661
- Silliman, Sue I., *Miss Ruth Hopkin, Educator*, 550-568
- Simmons, R. E., donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Slavery, Charles A. Loomis opposed to extension of, 214
- Smith, Dana P., talk on mounds and garden beds, 134; *The Old Mottville Bridge*, 402-403
- Smith, James L., *Dr. Stoddard Recalls the Days of President Tappan*, 20-25
- Smith, Joshua Toulmin, *Journal in America, 1837-1838*, reviewed, 143-144

- Snell, Mrs. Lora, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Social life and customs, in early fifties, 196-197
- Societies, see also Handbook; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society; names of counties
- Bay County Historical Society, annual meeting, 629
- Berrien County, Fifty Year Club, annual meeting, 628
- Detroit Historical Society, fourth annual report, 278-280
- Kalamazoo County Historical Society, entertained by Richland Ladies' Literary Society, 305-306; annual meeting, 630
- Marquette County Historical Society, notes from Secretary Chase on activities of, 112-114; report for 1925-26, 280-294; recent important additions to library, 295; report of curator, 454-455
- Montcalm County Pioneer Association, annual meeting, 628
- Shiawassee County Historical Society, annual meeting, 627
- Schoolcraft County Pioneer and Historical Society; flag used in Cleveland presidential campaign property of, 267-269
- Three Oaks Historical Society, annual meeting, 630
- Spencer, Leah A., *Our State of Michigan*, reviewed, 310-312
- Spinning wheels, in the Ford Collection at Dearborn, 582
- Springsteen, Mrs. Marvin, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Staffeld, Byron C., researches in Saginaw Valley hummocks, 301-302
- Stage coaches, travel by in early days, 10-11
- State Archeological Society, see Michigan State Archeological Society
- State Federation of Women's Clubs; see Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs; Women's clubs
- State Normal College, Chief Andrew Blackbird educated at, 235
- State Public Home for Dependent Children, tragedy, 577
- Steamboats, on Lake Erie in 1836, 195
- Stevens, Edward J., papers prepared by Dr. Hinsdale, 133
- Stevens family, date family originally came corrected, 307
- Stocking, William, *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922*, reviewed, 143; *Fifty Years of Industrial Progress in Detroit*, 606-626
- Stoddard, Dr. John Parker, Dr. Stoddard Recalls the Days of President Tappan (Smith), 20-25; parentage, 24-25
- Stone, Lucinda Hinsdale, work of for women's clubs, 72-74; work in interest of women's clubs, 221, 222-225, 227, 228, 229, 230
- Storey, Wilbur F., biographical sketch, in *Little Journeys in Journalism*, 515-533; characterization, 521, 526; editor and owner of the *Detroit Free Press*, brief sketch, 495-500
- Stories of Bay View (Baker), reviewed, 665
- Stouffer, William, mentioned, 555 (n)
- Stove making, Detroit, 612
- Stoves, in Ford Collection at Dearborn, 589
- Strang, James Jesse, career in northern Michigan, 427-435
- Streeter, Floyd Benjamin, *Journal in America, 1837-1838*, by Joshua Toulmin Smith, reviewed, 143-144
- Stringham, W. T., donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Stroebel, R. W., implements found in Saginaw Valley, 135
- Swift, Ivan, *Alexander MacGulpin, Fisherman - Philosopher*, 87-96; ancestry, 87 (n); *Chief Andrew Blackbird*, 233-240; *Mackinackers*, 404-410; infor-

- mation about Chief Andrew Blackbird, 471
- Tablets, see Monuments
- Tappan, Henry Philip, *Formative Influences in the Early Life of Henry Philip Tappan* (Perry), 5-19; genealogy of Tappan family, 6-7; estimate of John DeWitt, 8; *Dr. Stoddard Recalls the Days of President Tappan* (Smith), 20-25; *Dr. Tappan Comes to Michigan*, (Perry), 194-211; son of President Tappan, 495; *The Newspaper Attack on Dr. Tappan* (Perry), 495-514
- Tecumseh, *Tecumseh and Richardson. The Story of a Trip to Walpole Island and Port Sarnia* (Richardson), reviewed; 484-485
- Temperance, movement in early days, 203-206
- Texas Rangers, *Six Years with the Texas Rangers, 1875-1881* (Gillett), 308-309
- Thomas, Lowell, *The First World Flight, Being the Personal Narratives of Lowell Smith, Leslie Arnold, Erik Nelson, Henry Ogden, Leigh Wade, John Harding*, reviewed, 309-310
- Three Oaks Historical Society, annual meeting, 630
- Three Rivers Public Library, photostat copies of Gov. Barry's letters, 304-305
- Tichenor, S. B., donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Tobacco manufacture, Detroit, 615
- Trailing Arbutus, *Legend of the Trailing Arbutus* (Belknap), 323-326
- Transportation, in early Michigan, 194-196
- Turner, Dr. F. N., donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Turner, James M., nominated for Governor, 570
- Tuscola, county name, origin, 654
- Union College, course of study at time Dr. Tappan was student in, 12-16
- University of Michigan, *Formative Influences in the Early Life of Henry Philip Tappan* (Perry), 5-19; *Dr. Stoddard Recalls the Days of President Tappan* (Smith), 20-25; Dr. Clarence Cook Little inaugurated president, 97; list of words donated to by Mrs. James H. Campbell, 123-124; *Dr. Tappan Comes to Michigan* (Perry), 194-211; publications in history and political science, 296-297; Byron A. Finney notes on first commencement program and bell, 477-478; under Pres. Tappan, 495 ff
- Upjohn, William, qualifications for Regent of the University, 208
- Upper Peninsula, J. E. Jopling's communication respecting discovery of iron ore, 116-118
- Van Asmus, Henry D. C., biographical sketch, 635
- Van Buren, county name, origin, 654
- Victor, Mrs. Winthrop Fuller, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Vital Statistics, Frederick M. White's communication relative to vital statistics of St. Joseph County, 122-123
- Wade, Leigh, story of part in world flight in book by Lowell Thomas, reviewed, 309-310
- Wagenvoort, Alice, *A Sixth Grade Project in Local History*, 49-59
- Wakeman, Mrs. Minnie, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Walker, Henry N. (Detroit), friend of Dr. Tappan, 495-496; part owner of the *Detroit Free Press*, 523
- Wallace, Grace B., article on primary school interest fund noted, 297

- War, Civil, southern prisoners at Mackinac Island, 331; reminiscences of by S. H. Carlton, 468-471
- War of 1812, monument to unknown soldiers in Battle of Mackinac Island, 99-100; unveiling memorial in honor of unknown dead soldiers in Battle of Mackinac Island, 467-468
- Washburn, Mrs., donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- "Washingtonian" movement, in Michigan, 203-204
- Washtenaw County, centennial of establishing of first school, 306
- Washtenaw, county name, origin, 654
- Washtenaw Whig*, friendly to Dr. Tappan, 508
- Waterbury, Mrs. Jane, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Waterways, traffic on lakes and rivers in and around Michigan, 195-196
- Wayland, Francis, quoted on course of study at Union College, 13
- Wayne, county name, origin, 654
- Webster, Daniel, Gov. Felch's reminiscences of, 171
- Western Chronicle* (1858), quoted, 557
- Wexford, county name, origin, 655
- White, Arthur S., *Coalition Legislature of 1891*, 574-581; biographical sketch of Henry D. C. Van Asmus, 635; *Little Journeys in Journalism: William M. Hathaway*, 175-181; *Old Grand Rapids: Pen Pictures*, reviewed, 312-315; errors in Mrs. Moore's booklet on Grand Rapids corrected, 477
- White, Frederick M., relative to vital records of St. Joseph County, 122-123
- Whitman, Walt, *Pioneers! O Pioneers*, 153-156; work of, 257
- Whitney, Mrs. Rose, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Willis, Mrs. W. W., donor to Pioneer Museum, 254
- Wilmot Proviso, Senator Charles A. Loomis support of, 214
- Wisconsin Historical Museum, robbery reported, 134
- Wolcott, Nelson, bronze tablet unveiled by Will Carleton Memorial Association, 260-261
- Women's clubs, *History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs* (Jones), 60-75, 221-232, 534-549; see also Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs
- Wood, Mrs. Mary I., *The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs*, quoted, 61-63
- Woodson, C. G., communication relative to collection of letters written by Negroes, 125-126
- World History: 1815-1920 (Fuefter), reviewed, 660
- Ypsilanti, *The Story of Ypsilanti* (Colburn), reviewed, 146-147
- Zanter, Mrs. Julia Woodbridge, donor to Pioneer Museum, 254





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